

THE MEDIEVAL PAPACY
IN ACTION



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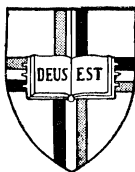
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The
MEDIEVAL PAPACY
IN ACTION

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NEW YORK UNIVERSITY



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PREFACE

IT IS the purpose of this book to describe the activities of the medieval papacy in the field of ecclesiastical administration. The vast and important subject of papal temporal policy has, therefore, been omitted except for a brief summary in the first chapter. The book does not pretend to be a work of original research. I have attempted to coördinate in brief form the conclusions of recognized authorities. Since space does not permit detailed citation, I should like to acknowledge my indebtedness here. I am also grateful to Professors Eugene H. Byrne and Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia University, Professor Ross J. S. Hoffman of Fordham University, and The Most Reverend Edwin V. O'Hara, Bishop of Kansas City, each of whom read and criticized the manuscript. My wife has given me constant encouragement and has drawn upon her own knowledge of the middle ages for many helpful suggestions. For the book's faults and for any expressions of opinion I am alone responsible.

M.W.B.

INTRODUCTION

TO SINGLE out any segment of papal history and assume its particular significance is at best a proceeding open to criticism. Nevertheless there is discernible about the period from the accession of St. Leo IX in 1049 to the death of Innocent IV in 1254 a character which seems to justify special study. Three developments stand out as especially characteristic and important: first, the recovery of the rightful exercise of papal supremacy after a long period of decentralization; second, the formation of institutions to make the primacy permanently effective; and third, an attempt, perhaps more nearly successful than any other, to instill into European society the principles of Christian living.

These significant accomplishments were paralleled in secular European history by a similar recovery from the anarchy which followed the collapse of the Roman and Carolingian empires. Political consolidation, which was well advanced by the end of the eleventh century, had resulted from an emphasis on those aspects of feudalism, in particular its contractual nature, which made for integration and stability. Therefore, although there were many signs as early as the first half of the

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thirteenth century that the constructive features of political feudalism were tending in the direction of the territorial sovereign state, especially in France and England, these two centuries may be taken as illustrating the achievement of feudalism.

Although the realities of everyday political life remained for the most part in a feudal pattern, another political ideal profoundly affected the mentality of these centuries. This was the tradition of universalism inherited from the Roman Empire. The attempt to give this concept some concrete reality produced that familiar medieval anomaly, the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. Though but a pale shadow of the empire of Augustus, it seriously threatened the independence of the papacy. This book, therefore, is concerned with the rôle of the papacy in a feudal society at once dynamic and original, yet clinging to the traditions of its Roman past. Since the all too famous struggle between pope and emperor reached a dramatic climax in 1250 with the death of the Emperor Frederick II, the pontificate of Innocent IV ending four years later has seemed a fitting close.

During the first half of the period under consideration here, the majority of the popes were monks whose great contribution to the church's welfare was the recovery and bold assertion of Rome's traditional primacy. The hundred years following the middle of the twelfth century witnessed a series of remarkable pontiffs whom historians have appropriately named the great "lawyer popes." A revival of canon law and

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theological studies especially in the universities of Bologna and Paris kept pace with a similar renaissance of civil jurisprudence.

The emphasis in the following pages will be laid upon the strictly ecclesiastical policies of the medieval papacy, notably the formation of the papal monarchy as an institution of ecclesiastical government and the functioning of this government in medieval Christendom. The vast field of papal temporal policies which would require more extended treatment than the scope of this volume permits has been omitted, except as it must occasionally be referred to in the chapter which follows.

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CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE CHURCH IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

FOR the first three hundred years of its history, the church was submerged in the great Roman Empire. Yet in that heroic age of martyrs—and several popes were numbered among them—Christianity spread to every Roman province. Indeed, the existence of the Roman state with its excellent lines of communication and its flourishing commercial and urban life greatly facilitated Christian expansion. Persecution was not continuous; and in the intervals of peace the church prospered. The essentials of its hierarchical organization under the Roman See were established. Thus, when in the fourth century Christianity was first tolerated (313) and later became the religion of the empire, there was every reason to expect an orderly development of ecclesiastical institutions.

Unfortunately, the collapse of the Roman state during the fifth century and the chaotic conditions which prevailed in western Europe for many years thereafter, retarded and frequently interrupted the church's progress. The western half of the original empire disintegrated and was finally replaced in the fifth and sixth centuries by separate Germanic kingdoms. In the eastern

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Mediterranean, imperial government with its new capital at Constantinople remained as the so-called Byzantine empire. It is true that some of the German rulers acknowledged a nominal suzerainty of the emperor at distant Constantinople. But the actual authority of the Byzantine emperors was in the end restricted to a tenuous hold on certain areas in Italy. Moreover, the Mohammedans, after the death of the prophet (632), swept from their Arabian home across northern Africa into Spain. Palestine, Syria and Persia were overrun. Toward the middle of the eighth century they had added Sicily and the Mediterranean islands to their conquests and even raided Rome. The seaways, where once Roman galleys had ruled supreme, were now controlled by Muslim pirates and traders; and western Europe was cut off from its old sources of culture and economic life in the eastern Mediterranean. Therefore, instead of peaceful development in an ordered society, the western church faced new readjustments to rapidly changing conditions.

As is well known, the church inherited the responsibility of the Roman state as the civilizing agent of the barbarian peoples. Missionaries carried the gospel to the new kingdoms. Yet notwithstanding substantial achievement, there is no denying that the church suffered, and in its human aspect, at least, succumbed in some measure to the tendencies of the age. Inevitably the papacy too was affected. Although several popes stood out as pillars of strength, few were able to assert their authority effectively for any length of time. The

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whole story cannot be told here, but certain developments must be emphasized even in this brief summary.

The collapse of stable imperial government in Italy forced the bishops of Rome to assume many duties of a secular nature. It was Leo the Great (440-61), not the emperor, who went out to meet Attila the Hun; Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) practically governed Rome and negotiated with the Lombard invaders of the peninsula. Thus, although the popes continued for some time to recognize the just political rights of the eastern emperors over Rome and Italy, they regarded themselves to an increasing degree as the real representatives of secular power in Rome and the territory north and south along the coast. This little state which came to be known as the Patrimony of St. Peter was an aggregation of donations dating from the early days of Christianity.

The absence of effective imperial power also strengthened in the western church a tradition that ecclesiastical authority must be independent of any secular control. Further, there developed a serious estrangement, both political and religious, between Rome and Constantinople.

There are a number of reasons for the separation of the eastern church from Rome which cannot be adequately discussed here. Broadly speaking, however, the fundamental issue, to which all others were secondary, seems to have been the question of papal supremacy. As Rome, Italy and the west succumbed to invasion and political and economic decay, some patri-

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archs of Constantinople came to feel that the continued prosperity of their city as the center of empire, the "new Rome," warranted their assumption of an equal if not a greater ecclesiastical authority. Part of a thriving civilization which had escaped the collapse visited upon the west, they resented a continued submission to Italian "barbarians." Minor theological controversies, therefore, were aggravated out of all proportion to their intrinsic significance. Although the final schism did not occur until 1054, numerous temporary rifts appeared earlier. These, added to the increasing difficulties of communication, inevitably weakened papal authority over the Byzantine church.

The political separation of the papacy from Constantinople is more easily understood. As we have seen, several popes were forced to assume political responsibilities because the eastern emperors failed to govern Italy effectively. In the eighth century, relations between the papacy and Byzantine government were strained by the latter's attempts to do away with images in the churches. When the popes were in dire need of material assistance against the Lombards who were threatening Rome, they sought more devoted and more effective aid in the west. This they found in the rising kingdom of the Franks, a Germanic people, now Christian, whose political achievements already gave promise of a new order in Gaul and western Germany. In return for significant favors, in particular the right to assume the kingship, King Pepin defeated the Lombards who were threatening Rome and in 756 restored a large section

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of former Byzantine territory, including the exarchate of Ravenna and Pentapolis just south of it, not to the emperor at Constantinople but to the pope. Although Byzantine suzerainty might be said still to exist formally, the eastern emperors by their inability to control the Italian situation had forfeited their authority. The pope, therefore, having cast off all political connection with Constantinople, was now in a real sense an independent temporal ruler not only in the original Patrimony, but in these new lands as well. Later additions including the duchy of Spoleto (Umbria), the march of Ancona and southern Tuscany rounded out the traditional Papal States of central Italy.

The climax of the new alliance between the papacy and the Franks was reached in 800. On Christmas day of that year, Pope Leo III placed the imperial crown on the head of the greatest Frankish king, Charles, and thus called into being the Holy Roman Empire which was to endure in Europe until the time of Napoleon. Byzantine sovereignty was repudiated and, in the creation of a new western "empire," the Roman pontiff had played a major rôle. Its future was bound up with that of the Roman See. Therefore, it will be well now briefly to describe western European conditions in the early middle ages. We may then understand the actual problems confronting the medieval papacy and discover how seriously the church's institutional growth had been retarded and how necessary was the work of recovery and restoration.

It is true that the famous Frankish king-emperor,

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Charlemagne (768–814), restored some kind of order to that part of the former western empire which he had been able to conquer. It was not the relatively urban civilization characteristic of the Romans, but a more primitive régime resting almost exclusively on agriculture. It is also true that the church, especially monasticism, owed much to his devoted efforts and it played an important rôle in his administration. But the emperor made it clear that ecclesiastical affairs were to be under his direction. Accepting this royal patronage which it was powerless to resist, the church was at least grateful that in Charlemagne's hands lay control was directed to a truly religious end. Papal activities during the Carolingian age show a similar dependence on the emperor. Charlemagne, like his predecessor Pepin, protected the popes from the Lombard invaders of Italy and under his suzerainty strengthened their control over the Papal States. Further, when Leo III placed the imperial crown on his head, Charlemagne, at least according to one biographer, was displeased. It may well have been that the conception of papal political authority implicit in the act did not square with his own ideas of imperial sovereignty.

Charlemagne's reign proved to be of tremendous import to later generations. His structure of government collapsed, but he had restored for his successors and imitators the powerful tradition of empire. For the church this meant the precedent of secular domination, dangerous in less worthy hands. The papacy shared in this dependence, but in bestowing the imperial

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crown, it had, as later papalists argued, "translated" the empire from Constantinople to the west. Whatever may have been in Leo's mind, his action implied to his successors their superior authority even in temporal affairs.

The great Frankish king-emperor's death in 814 removed the strong hand that had temporarily brought order out of chaos and left Europe again a prey to unrestricted warfare and to renewed attacks from Norsemen, Slavs, Magyars, and Saracens. With the virtual disappearance of centralized political authority, power became localized in the hands of feudal princes. Trade continued to decline and economic life centered around individual manorial estates. As a result of this anarchy the church suffered materially and morally. Difficulties and hazards of travel and communication seriously impeded the assertion of any centralized religious authority. Ecclesiastical discipline broke down. Ancient canons against clerical marriage were forgotten or disregarded. Even monastic vows were openly violated. Simony, the traffic in ecclesiastical offices, reared its ugly head, and, since the sacred calling was a profitable thing, some bishops or priests (for the latter were not slow to follow the example of their superiors) even sought to transmit benefices to their sons. In certain parts of Europe a hereditary clerical caste seemed by no means an impossibility.

Moral degradation and lack of discipline were not the only dangers which beset the church. Equally formidable and to a great extent the cause of moral

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decline was the widespread control of ecclesiastical offices by secular princes. The church in the early middle ages possessed large holdings in land. This was inevitable in a society where land was so nearly the sole basis of wealth. To exist, to carry on its work, land was as necessary to the church in the eleventh century as are the contributions of the faithful today. In fact the church's landed property was largely the result of donations. But in the customary feudal law of the day, landholding entailed economic and political obligations. The administration of an estate and the service of its overlord were the ordinary duties of a landholder. From the point of view of a great lay prince or king, naturally anxious to insure the enforcement of his authority, control over the landed aristocracy, lay and ecclesiastical, was a vital matter. Hence the customary practice of electing bishops, wherein the local cathedral clergy were supposed to play a major part, was frequently replaced by lay appointment or at least subjected to lay pressure. Especially in Germany, where bishops who had been given civil duties were a useful counterpoise against rebellious lay vassals and where the Carolingian tradition was first revived, the king had a vital interest in securing devoted servants. In France and other lands where the king exercised less territorial authority, the greater nobles usurped similar prerogatives. Parish priests were likewise controlled by the local nobility. Furthermore, for many nobles it was but a step from dominating elections to installing relatives and friends. Impecunious younger sons might

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be handsomely provided for. Nor did it always matter to the ambitious prince whether his candidate had a religious vocation.

Finally secular domination progressed so far as frequently to include even the ceremony of investiture, that is, the "investing" of the nominee with the right to perform the functions of his office. In the case of the bishop this meant formally bestowing on the candidate the symbols of office, the ring and the crozier. Not of course equivalent to sacramental consecration, lay investiture nevertheless represented lay control and illustrates the extent to which the church had become subject to secular authority.

It might well be asked at this point what had happened to the authority of the papacy. Why had not the voice of the Vicar of Christ been raised to recall the church to its ancient discipline? Unfortunately, at Rome as elsewhere, discipline had nearly vanished. Popes were dominated, if not chosen, by the local nobility and a turbulent populace who regarded their supreme pastor merely as a temporal sovereign to be either resisted or controlled. Only the occasional interference of a German Holy Roman Emperor brought some semblance of dignity and order to the disorderly city. With a few notable exceptions the chronicles of the popes of the ninth, tenth and early eleventh centuries are best passed over in silence. The pages of history scarcely reveal a more dismal story. Rome's voice was silent and the church leaderless in its struggle.

Thus far only the worst aspects of an admittedly evil

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age have been considered. There remains the more congenial task of recording the many hopeful signs which, increasing as the eleventh century wore on, pointed to a sure and steady restoration. By the year 1000 the forces making for order had already begun to reassert themselves. Gradually out of the welter of decentralized anarchy there emerged a new Europe, not the old Europe of Roman unity, but a Europe of independent feudal kingdoms. Decentralization had reached its limit, and the eleventh century witnessed the first fruits of political and social reconstruction.

With respect to the church, it is significant that at no time and in no country were there lacking saints who by inspiration and example laid the foundations for reform. Moreover, missionaries had never ceased to carry the gospel to the pagans of the north and east. Especially important for this study is the fact that despite the degradation of the popes, belief in the divinely instituted primacy of the papacy never died. A council in France where hostility to the popes was openly expressed, nevertheless emphatically declared that "the Roman Church, like the key-bearer of the heavenly kingdom who was the chief of the apostolic college, has the privilege of giving life to all churches, which dispersed throughout the world, are, as it were, its limbs. Whoever resists the Roman Church separates himself from its members and becomes a member of Christ's enemy."¹ Occasionally a stalwart successor

¹ Quoted in P. Hughes, *A History of the Church*, II (New York, 1935), 241.

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of St. Peter justified the faith which had not died and succeeded in restoring some prestige to his sacred office. Such a one was St. Nicholas I (858-867) who stoutly asserted the primitive claims of his see and as valiantly exercised them in practice. Bishops and archbishops were made to feel the Roman primacy and even kings were denied that supremacy in spiritual affairs which the Carolingian tradition established. These seeds were soon to bear fruit. Heralded by heroic individuals the spirit of reform spread. Its ultimate success was largely the result of three factors: the new monastic order of Cluny, the assistance of devout Holy Roman Emperors, especially St. Henry II and Henry III, and the leadership of a revitalized papacy.

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY REFORM

So active were the monks and abbots of Cluny in the work of restoring monasticism that the movement has rightly been called the Cluniac reform. The charter of the original congregation founded at Cluny in southern France in 910 challenged lay control. The monks were to live according to the rule of St. Benedict, to be free to choose their abbot without any outside intervention whatever, and to be subject only to the Holy See. Under a series of remarkable abbots, many of them canonized saints, the order experienced a phenomenal growth. Some three hundred houses in all parts of Europe, each under a prior, were incorporated under one abbot, nominated from Cluny. Thus to the old Benedictine system of autonomous abbeys was pre-

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ferred a centralized system whose usefulness as an antidote to current centrifugal tendencies is obvious. Standing for independence of secular domination, the Cluniac movement pointed the way to those who strove to free papacy and church.

The German lands, perhaps because they were the first to experience political recovery after the disintegration of the Carolingian empire, suffered less from the ecclesiastical débâcle of the tenth century. From the early decades of the tenth century the Saxon kings had built in Germany a strong feudal monarchy. Then in 962, when Otto I was crowned at Rome, they revived with papal sanction the Carolingian tradition of the Holy Roman Empire and added northern Italy to their domains. The results for the church and the papacy were both good and bad. In the saintly Henry II (d.1024), reform had a royal patron, a second Charlemagne. His own efforts were untiring. He convoked synods, reformed monasteries, acted in effect as head of the church in his lands. Yet his interference, however well intentioned, left the church's welfare entirely dependent on the character of the emperor. Under his successor, Conrad II (d.1039), not only did the old abuses reappear, but the German church became accustomed to an imperial control often directed to purely political ends.

The climax of imperial domination was reached under Henry III (d.1056). Perhaps the most powerful of the early medieval German king-emperors, he understood and furthered the work of ecclesiastical reform,

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but he also saw the church as an instrument in the consolidation of his kingdom. It was to be a reformed church, but subservient to the monarchy. In 1046 he decided to extend his reforming efforts to Rome. Three claimants to the papal throne were disposed of by deposition or resignation. Finally at Christmas, with some show of election, but actually by imperial appointment, Suidger of Bamberg, a worthy German bishop, was chosen pope. Two years later the process was repeated when the emperor chose another German, this time a relative, Bruno of Toul, who assumed the title of Leo IX. However degraded the preceding popes, however well intentioned the emperor, there is no escaping the significance of Henry's actions. Imperial domination of the papacy was an established fact.

Nevertheless with St. Leo IX (1049-1054) reform took possession of the Holy See, and a movement which had already commenced was now given centralized direction. It is for this reason that his pontificate has been chosen as an appropriate beginning for this book. For Leo's achievement was to make the papal presence universally felt. His method was to preside personally at councils held not only at Rome but throughout Europe, where unworthy prelates were deposed, simony stringently penalized, clerical celibacy insisted upon, the practice of clerical election restored, and lay interference forbidden. As a result of Leo's journeyings—and they were not confined to the councils—there could no longer be any doubt, even to those who continued to cherish their independence, that leadership in this great

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spiritual endeavor was where it should be, in the hands of Christ's vicar. Equally significant, though not yet apparent, was the necessary implication that a movement whose cardinal principle was emancipation from princely influence must, if led by the papacy, inevitably raise the central question of papal-imperial relations. Leo had not been the first imperial appointee. Nor could his own cordial dealings with the emperor obscure the fact that he had set in motion a force which must condemn that practice with even greater emphasis than it had condemned lay appointment of lesser prelates.

It was, therefore, the determination to pursue St. Leo's policies which not long after his death dictated the famous decree of the Lateran council of 1059 on papal elections. Henceforth popes were to be chosen solely by the seven cardinal bishops of Rome, their choice to be corroborated by the cardinal priests and deacons and acclaimed by the populace. Thus papal elections, while conforming in theory to the old tradition that bishops be chosen "*a clero ac populo*" (by clergy and people), actually were protected from any outside interference and the emperor was left only the duty of confirming an accomplished fact. That this was only too well understood is proved by the passive hostility of the emperors to this assertion of independence.

ST. GREGORY VII (1073-85)

Among the associates brought by St. Leo IX to Rome was the monk Hildebrand, the future Gregory

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VII. Humbly born, unprepossessing in appearance, he made up for his small stature and weak voice by an indomitable spirit and an ardent enthusiasm. He had seen the Rome of the anarchy and had served Gregory VI, from whom he may have taken his name. He had also been in the Rhineland, one of the early reforming centers, where he probably received the monastic habit. Returning to Rome with St. Leo IX, he began his service to the cause from which he was never separated. As the right-hand man of St. Leo's successors, he was frequently sent as legate to France, Germany and Italy on important missions, holding synods, enforcing decrees against simony and clerical marriage, dealing with heresy, initiating diplomatic alliances. He shared in instituting the election decree of 1059 and in the same year was appointed archdeacon of the Roman Church. This administrative experience at Rome far outweighs in importance Hildebrand's formal education. Except for an intimate acquaintance with Scripture, the works of Gregory the Great and current collections of decretals, he was not learned. The reader of his letters (now happily available in English translation) is impressed not with a display of technical legal language, but with a deep moral and religious fervor. In his denunciation of wrong, in his insistence on righteousness and justice, he speaks after the manner of the Old Testament prophets. Without any trace of affectation he calls himself the mouthpiece of St. Peter, his own words St. Peter's words, his acts St. Peter's acts. Thus he could exalt the Petrine authority, claim the widest application

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of the apostolic power of binding and loosing in heaven and on earth, and still submerge his own personality in the prestige of his office. Moreover, he possessed to a marked degree that spiritual detachment from the ordinary vicissitudes of the world, that inner peace which is the reward of monastic discipline.

In addition to his sanctity, Gregory possessed a real administrative genius. He was not the legal scholar that Innocent III was, but he realized the importance of sound precedent and delegated to others the task of systematizing canon law especially as it applied to papal primacy. He was convinced that the only answer to the anarchy of his age was the exaltation of papal power on a firm legal basis. It was undoubtedly this thought which dictated his issuance of the famous *Dictatus papae*, a set of twenty-seven propositions drawn from various collections of decretals, which not only stated papal supremacy, but provided practical measures for its enforcement. In particular, papal authority over all metropolitans and bishops, whether exercised personally or through legates, is explicitly claimed. Apart from the pope, bishops may make no decisions of a general character, and he alone can convoke councils. Moreover, Gregory's statements concerning papal temporal authority foreshadowed the policies of subsequent popes.

THE INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY

St. Gregory's pontificate, therefore, was one of the most important in the whole history of the church.

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Yet it seemed to end in failure and its significance is evident only when its later results are understood. Opposing him at every turn, thwarting his efforts at reform, and to all outward appearances victorious at the end was the young Holy Roman Emperor, Henry IV (d.1106). The pope's original plan, to which he adhered as long as he could, was to gain Henry's co-operation. Gregory felt this to be the natural policy for pope and emperor, one which would insure the enforcement of decrees throughout Germany and Italy. It is not improbable that he would have allowed the emperor considerable influence over the appointment of prelates, provided the appointees were worthy. At least this was the pope's policy with William I of England. Unfortunately, Henry IV had no sympathy with reform and was not minded to relinquish his control of the episcopate. An intelligent, cultured, shrewd young man of twenty-three, he was willing to make strategic concessions to an enemy he planned ultimately to crush. But he was stubbornly determined not to yield those things which he had come to regard as his imperial prerogatives. Since Gregory, as a consequence, was forced to make an issue of lay investiture and lay interference in episcopal elections, the prospects for coöperation were not good. Moreover, the emperor's policy of nominating to bishoprics and abbeys in both Germany and Italy practically guaranteed him loyal servants in the coming struggle. And to these must be added the great number of parish priests for whom the discipline of celibacy had become a burden. Such were the tragic conse-

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quences of lay control: a clergy more loyal to king than to pope.

Behind the pope stood the vast majority of the regular clergy. Cluny had done its work well. In some cities, the mass of common people were disgusted with the laxity of the secular clergy. Some loyal bishops, like Herman of Metz, dared to brave imperial displeasure. Moreover, as allies, though not always constant, Gregory could usually count on the rebellious German nobility; and in Italy Countess Matilda of Tuscany was a staunch adherent. In this manner were the forces destined to be divided in the impending conflict.

The conflict between St. Gregory VII and Henry IV, the famous "Investiture Struggle," has gone down in history as the first and most dramatic episode in the long war of empire and papacy. It has been described in detail too many times to need repetition here. Therefore, it must suffice to emphasize the significance of Gregory's position in the light of the recovery which commenced with St. Leo IX.

So successful had been the reform thus far, that the Roman pontiff, the church's rightful leader, could now take open issue with the strongest ruler in Europe and launch in 1075 a decree officially forbidding lay investiture. Furthermore, when Henry IV persisted in disregarding the pope's will and, following the precedent set by his predecessors, persuaded a council of subservient German and Italian bishops to depose him, Gregory took the unheard-of step of excommunicating and deposing the emperor. This step he repeated with

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even greater emphasis four years later. But Gregory's forthright courage, which in thus challenging the emperor brought new prestige to his high office, was no mere impulsive rashness. Rather, it was considered judgment triumphing over many doubts and hesitations.

Although the first sentence of excommunication brought Henry a penitent to Canossa in a memorable scene, the second sentence found him in a stronger position and therefore in no mood for public penance. Thus the fortunes of the struggle went against Gregory who died in southern Italy a virtual prisoner of the turbulent Normans who "rescued" him from the imperial armies.

Gregory's apparent defeat should not be misunderstood. Viewed in the light of its results his pontificate was not a failure. Never before had the papacy exercised its moral authority so widely. Its supremacy had been clearly asserted and its independence valiantly defended. Defeat was temporary and Gregory's saintly spirit lived on to inspire his successors and triumph in the next generation. This was also true of the temporal implications of Gregory's policy. Apparently he did not intend to assert any theoretical authority over the temporal power in temporal matters. He was concerned solely with insuring that his designs for the reform of the church, in particular the episcopate, were not interfered with by secular rulers. Nevertheless, it remains true that excommunication and deposition, even for purely religious reasons, had political consequences and

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amounted to a claim by the spiritual power of a "vast and indeterminate authority over the temporal." This was to become more clear in the thirteenth century.

Furthermore, the Holy Roman Empire was not Christendom. The dramatic nature of Gregory's struggle with Henry has tended to overshadow his more normal relations with other countries. Actually they are not only of equal importance, but they demonstrate the pope's policies under less trying conditions. In England, for example, there was no break between king and pope. Although William the Conqueror ruled the English church after the old manner of the better German emperors, appointed bishops himself and attempted to limit papal authority in England, he was personally an advocate of ecclesiastical reform and furthered its progress. Thus although in principle the English situation was similar to the imperial, and royal control was as much of a reality in England as in Germany or north Italy, no break occurred because Gregory was unwilling to antagonize a king who promoted the church's work. Evidently, therefore, Gregory was neither intransigent by nature nor anxious for controversy.

The eleventh century French monarchy was less consolidated than either the English or the German. Lay opposition to reform, therefore, came not only from King Philip I, who found simoniacal appointments of bishops a convenient source of revenue, but from the virtually independent great nobles. United

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opposition was impossible in a kingdom so lacking in political unity. Gregory, who had been a legate in France, understood local conditions. A threat of excommunication was sufficient to reduce Philip to a passive attitude which, although it did nothing to advance progress, did not prevent it. Papal legates, meeting less confident resistance, pursued their work with energy and no little success. Despite continued opposition from independently minded local archbishops and often from the lower clergy, reform in France was placed on the sound basis of increased centralization and submission to papal authority.

Other parts of Europe presented different problems. In Scandinavia, where the difficulty of language was an obstacle to missionaries, Gregory urged that native young men be sent to Rome for instruction. Legates were despatched to Poland to guide the hitherto undeveloped ecclesiastical organization. Spain, as yet only partially recovered from the Moors, accepted the *Ordo Romanus*, or the Roman ritual, and like Hungary was enjoined to admit papal feudal as well as spiritual suzerainty. Certain other states also became papal fiefs or were otherwise closely related to the Holy See. Indeed, Gregory spoke of a *militia sancti Petri* or "army" of knights bound either by actual feudal contract or pious allegiance to guard the rights of the papacy. It was also his earnest desire to assist the eastern Christians against the Turks, but European conditions prevented the launching of a crusade. It can, therefore, be seen that Gregory's difficulties with the

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Holy Roman Empire did not decrease his solicitude for Christendom at large.

Was the man who so exalted the conception of his office actuated by motives of personal ambition? Such has not been the verdict of history. Few historians, even those least sympathetic with his views, have denied to Gregory a sincerity and a selflessness which they have been unwilling to attribute to some of his illustrious successors. Others, probing deeper, have paid tribute to a real sanctity, a true detachment from the things of this world, which only a few have achieved. This is the verdict of the church he served, which has numbered him among her saints.

ST. GREGORY VII'S SUCCESSORS.

THE END OF THE INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY

Gregory's influence was still felt. Methods might change, but the basic principles of ecclesiastical centralization and independence of secular authority remained the guiding stars of papal policy. Urban II (1088-99) was perhaps the most distinguished of Gregory's immediate successors. A Frenchman, and an excellent scholar, well trained in canon law, monk, then prior of Cluny, finally cardinal bishop of Ostia and preferred by Gregory as a successor, he was admirably fitted to further reconstruction. Perhaps because the struggle with the Empire which he inherited began gradually to resolve itself in his favor, Urban took a more moderate tone, one suited to his conciliatory disposition. Moreover, he was enabled to direct his

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abundant energy and talents to the vastly more important task of consolidating the gains already made by perfecting the details of ecclesiastical organization and procedure. His successful launching of the First Crusade at the Council of Clermont (1095) is testimony of the renewed prestige the papacy had won.

The investiture controversy was finally ended by the Concordat of Worms in 1122. Henry V once and for all conceded the principle of free election and forswore lay investiture. Henceforth bishops were to be consecrated and invested with the ring and crozier only by the clergy. The emperor was permitted to be present at the elections "provided they were free and without simony," and his power to "nominate" was tacitly accepted. Investiture of the "temporalities," that is, lands and immunities, was conceded by the church to the emperor. Indeed, Gregory VII had condemned only the investiture of spirituals. Thus ended one chapter in the long struggle between spiritual and temporal authority. For the moment, the church seemed to have won a victory. The principle of free election was acknowledged and lay investiture was rarely again a serious problem. Unfortunately, lay interference was soon to reappear in other forms and to force the church to guard its independence with renewed vigilance.

In the following year a council held at the Lateran basilica in Rome and presided over by Calixtus II solemnly approved the Concordat and further supplemented its decrees. It was eminently fitting that the stage in the church's development which witnessed the

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reassertion of papal leadership should close with this council, the first general council held in the west.

THE AGE OF ST. BERNARD (1090-1153)

The generation following the Concordat of Worms was similarly dominated by the monastic ideal. And as St. Gregory VII stands out in the history of the later eleventh century, so the great St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, is preëminent in the thirty year period which followed 1122. Not himself a pope, St. Bernard nevertheless so influenced the church and the papacy of his time, that the title "the age of St. Bernard" seems as natural as "the age of Hildebrand." St. Bernard was primarily an ascetic and a mystic who could become so absorbed in intimate converse with God as to be entirely oblivious of men and things about him. The great poet Dante placed him in the highest heaven. Yet, this saint who reached the heights of mystical contemplation was also the most active man of his generation. An astonishing number of his writings, sermons, hymns and treatises, many of them learned, all of them intensely human and prayerfully devout, have been translated into all languages and are read to this day. Not content with restoring monastic discipline in the reformed Cistercian order, he travelled throughout Europe, the ever-sought-for adviser of kings, bishops, abbots and popes, preacher of the Second Crusade, and vigilant champion of orthodoxy. To recount his career would be to write a history of Europe during his time. We must be content here with noting

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only certain especially important activities in behalf of two popes, both formerly abbots, Innocent II (1130-43) and Eugenius III (1145-53).

Immediately upon his accession, Innocent II faced a serious schism. On the death of his predecessor, the reappearance of factional strife among the Roman nobility interfered with the customary electoral procedure, divided the electoral college and produced two popes each claiming to be canonically elected. As a consequence each candidate, Innocent II and his rival Anacletus II, sought outside recognition. Anacletus gained Rome, but Innocent, exiled to France as many a pope before him, eventually won the recognition of Christendom. That he succeeded was largely owing to the efforts of St. Bernard.

Eugenius III was a Cistercian abbot whose election to the highest office in Christendom might well have warmed the heart of St. Bernard. Yet his first reaction to the news was one of astonishment and dismay. "May God forgive you what you have done," he wrote the cardinals. "You have again involved in cares and thrown amongst crowds a man who had fled from both. . . ." ² Cares there were in plenty for this saintly pope, but, despite St. Bernard's concern, he proved an able administrator. Space does not permit a detailed consideration of his pontificate. His dealings with the Roman citizens, his launching of the Second Crusade, two of his most significant activities, will be treated

² Quoted in H. K. Mann, *The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages*, IX (London and St. Louis, 1925), 134-5.

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in later chapters. His constant adviser in all things was St. Bernard, always fearful that his protégé might succumb to the temptations which great power brings. No more eloquent criticism of the worldliness inevitably associated with much of the business of the papal *curia* has ever been penned than the great abbot's *De Consideratione ad Eugenium papam*. Yet it is also a work of sound advice, written by one who not only venerated the high office but was thoroughly aware of all the practical problems facing its incumbent.

The papal government was now an established thing. Appeals to Rome from all over Christendom—too many to suit St. Bernard—had become a matter of routine. A correspondingly greater number of letters were regularly despatched. The number of papal legates and the variety of their functions multiplied. Such were the results of the great reform inaugurated in the eleventh century and carried forward by the monastic popes.

THE LAWYER POPES

It has already been pointed out that the century following the death of St. Bernard, which witnessed a notable development of the science of canon law, brought to the Roman See a succession of skilled canonists. These pontiffs, sometimes popularly known as the lawyer popes, are perhaps best known for their long and finally triumphant struggle against the Hohenstaufen emperors, and for their elaboration of the theory of papal temporal preëminence. To discuss these

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highly important aspects of papal policy adequately would be impossible within the limits of this volume. Moreover, as the following chapters will attempt to show, the contributions of the lawyer popes in the field of ecclesiastical administration are of more permanent significance. Therefore it has seemed advisable only briefly to outline papal temporal policies after 1150, and to emphasize those which radically affected more distinctly ecclesiastical concerns.

A perennial source of friction between popes and princes was the control of the clergy. The functioning of ecclesiastical government required unhindered supervision of the clergy everywhere, especially of the bishops. When a civil ruler obstructed this supervision and sought to control or influence the local hierarchy, papal intervention was necessary. Unfortunately, the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries witnessed renewed attempts on the part of certain rulers either to control episcopal elections or limit clerical freedom of action. The problem grew increasingly difficult as in some European states internal political unity began to replace feudal decentralization. A king powerful enough to surmount the obstacles of feudalism was more likely to demand control over his clergy. One or two examples will illustrate this tendency.

In the kingdom of the Two Sicilies papal efforts to reform the clergy were repeatedly thwarted. Philip Augustus of France (1180-1223) during a serious quarrel with Pope Innocent III was high-handed in his dealings with the French clergy. King John of

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England defied an interdict for years before accepting the same pope's candidate for the see of Canterbury.³ The Hohenstaufen emperors, who also opposed popes on other grounds, as will presently be shown, managed to secure a large measure of control over the German clergy through a widespread selling of episcopal sees.

Various measures were devised for combating these practices of ambitious rulers of which the most important were the increasing papal intervention in local elections and the perfecting of a centralized administrative system at Rome. These significant developments will be discussed in the following chapter. The extension of the feudal policy inaugurated by St. Gregory VII also brought results in some cases.

Papal dealings with the Holy Roman Empire acquired a special character owing to the exceptional relations existing between the two institutions. It will be recalled that from the time of Charlemagne and Otto the Great it had become customary for German kings to receive the imperial crown from the hands of the pope. Thus a kind of juridical relation existed here which was not present elsewhere. Furthermore, the imperial pretensions of the Hohenstaufen which included sovereignty over Italy repeatedly threatened the independence of the Papal States.

³ The jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts was also challenged by Henry II (1154-88) of England in the famous controversy with St. Thomas Becket. Since, after Becket's martyrdom, the king promised to permit appeals to Rome, no further barrier to the full introduction of canon law in England remained and a marked increase in the number of papal decretals to England resulted.

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A new phase in papal-imperial relations commenced with the accession in 1152 of the great Hohenstaufen emperor, Frederick I, popularly known as Barbarossa. Typically German in appearance, with his large frame and red beard, he has become with Charlemagne a legendary figure in German folklore. Yet this Germanic hero was steeped in the Roman tradition and was thoroughly convinced that his destiny lay in reviving the empire of Augustus. Some of his supporters developed further the idea that imperial authority flows directly from God and is independent of any pope. They dreamed of an empire which might include not only Germany and Italy, but even Constantinople and possibly the former Carolingian domains of western Europe. The church would again be under royal control. Not only would the Papal States vanish, but the popes would be reduced to that subordinate position which they occupied under Charlemagne. Indeed, to give point to his claims, Frederick had Charlemagne canonized by a subservient anti-pope.

An opportunity for testing these imperial views came in 1159 when a minority of the cardinals disputed the election of Pope Alexander III and proceeded to elect a friend of the emperor. Thus a schism was created which was prolonged by the emperor's support of a series of anti-popes. But Alexander, an accomplished canonist and the first of the great lawyer popes, vigorously took up the challenge. Despite the fact that he was forced by imperial invasions of Italy to take refuge in France, he eventually won the recognition

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of most European states. Indispensable aid came from the cities of north Italy. Bound to the pope by a common antagonism to the emperor, they formed the Lombard league to avenge Frederick's sack of Milan and to defend their traditional liberties. When in 1176 the league defeated the emperor at Legnano, pope and cities were saved. The following year saw the great Barbarossa kneeling before Alexander to beg absolution. Thus after nineteen years Alexander was free to perform the task to which he had been called and for which he was so eminently fitted. The Third Lateran Council (1179), devoted to important religious and social measures, was a fitting celebration of his return to Rome after so many years of exile.

Frederick had admitted his failure against the papacy. But before his death on the Third Crusade he betrothed his son and heir, Henry, to Constance, heiress to the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. Thus by hemming in the Papal States from both sides, his successors might triumph where he had failed. It was the worst possible blow to papal independence in Italy and threatened all that Alexander had accomplished. Moreover, Henry VI made good use of his position and seemed to be on the point of accomplishing his aims when in August 1197 mortal fever suddenly seized him. His death was one of the most dramatic reversals of fortune in the annals of the papacy.

In the following year, Lothario Conti, a young man of thirty-seven, already known as a brilliant canonist and theologian, ascended the papal throne as Innocent

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III (1198-1216). The situation confronting him in the empire called for the utmost diplomatic skill in handling three interrelated problems. First, Henry VI had died leaving only his three-year-old son, Frederick, to succeed him. The result was a long civil war in Germany which had repercussions throughout Europe. Second, in Sicily which, as was explained above, had also become Hohenstaufen by Henry VI's marriage to Constance, a similar succession problem existed. Third, Innocent found the Papal States seriously menaced by the Hohenstaufen invasion since Henry's representatives remained in Romagna, Ancona and Umbria after their master's death.

Innocent tackled the Italian situation first. He excommunicated the imperial representatives, and with the troops which he had been able to raise drove the Germans out of papal territory. Unfortunately, the opposition of certain cities prevented his exercise of much direct authority outside the original Patrimony and Umbria. In Ancona and Romagna, for example, he contented himself with an indirect suzerainty.

In Sicily, Constance, who became regent on the death of her husband, relinquished a number of exceptional ecclesiastical privileges which her predecessors had enjoyed and shortly before her death in 1198 entrusted both her son Frederick and her kingdom to Innocent as suzerain. Several years of struggle followed against German officials and feudal magnates, but Innocent triumphed in the end and, for the time at least, made papal suzerainty effective in the southern kingdom.

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At the same time the Hohenstaufen plan to surround the Papal States was blocked.

The imperial succession was not so easily decided. Innocent was at first carefully neutral in the civil war. Later he threw the weight of papal influence toward whichever side seemed favorable to the church, a course which forced him to shift his stand more than once. Finally he supported Frederick of Sicily after the prince had come of age. Many have criticized the pope for trusting a Hohenstaufen son of Henry VI; and subsequent events bear out the criticism. But Frederick was Innocent's ward and was willing to recognize papal suzerainty over Sicily, to concede the independence of the Papal States and to promise that the crowns of Sicily and the empire should never be united. In addition he guaranteed free ecclesiastical elections and appeals to Rome, agreed to assist against heresy, and promised to embark on a crusade whenever conditions permitted. Thus, when Frederick was victorious over his enemies at the battle of Bouvines in 1214, a battle where varied European conflicts strangely mingled with this imperial struggle, Innocent might indeed feel that he had planned well. Like his predecessor, Alexander III, he was now free to turn to far more important matters. The Fourth Lateran Council, meeting in the last year of his pontificate, is his real and permanent achievement.

Innocent's concern over the imperial question did not prevent his active intervention in the affairs of many European states. Such matters cannot be dis-

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cussed here, but it is clear that despite many setbacks the ideal of a Christendom united under papal overlordship was never more nearly realized than by this great pope. The policy of binding kingdoms to the Holy See by means of the feudal contract was extended and clarified. Other states were influenced in their policies as Innocent with amazing diplomatic skill and no little success sought to unite Europe politically as well as spiritually. Thus, he hoped, Christendom could achieve that inner harmony necessary to the furtherance of Christian life and to adequate defense against Islam, for Innocent, like all medieval popes, placed the crusade high in the list of his aims.

Innocent III was a great administrator and diplomat. Therefore, the world has viewed him as a statesman and judged him accordingly. In the opinion of many there is about his career a wordly character in marked contrast to the saintly zeal of Gregory and Bernard. And it is true that a more detailed study of his policies would reveal that Innocent was not above using the means which the vicissitudes of conflict presented. As a consequence there is about his diplomacy an occasionally tortuous character more in keeping with the policies of a secular ruler than of the Supreme Pontiff. But although Innocent has never been a candidate for canonization, there is no denying him a real greatness. Mere selfish ambition formed no part of his character. And it will presently be shown that his prodigious activity in temporal affairs was in addition to a solicitude for the details of ecclesiastical administration which

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has rarely been surpassed. A member of his household humorously named him "Solomon III."

The half century following Innocent III's death forms at once an epilogue to that great pope's career and a prologue to a new age. In the mighty struggle with the Holy Roman Empire fortune at first favored the imperialists, as the young Frederick II, Innocent's former protégé, threw off the mask of subservience and revived the Hohenstaufen design. Never did the papacy face a more shrewd, unscrupulous and determined opponent than this strange man whom historians have hailed as the "first modern ruler," and who was known to his bewildered contemporaries as the wonder of the world (*stupor mundi*). Having outwitted the mild-mannered Honorius III (1216-27) he found the octogenarian Gregory IX and the canonist Innocent IV of sterner stuff. The war against the emperor became a crusade and the customary indulgence was offered to all who participated. Master of Germany and Sicily, Frederick had subdued northern Italy and seemed on the point of absorbing the Papal States when in 1250 death robbed him of victory. Three years later Innocent IV was able to return to Rome after an absence of nine years. Although the struggle dragged on for some years, and involved the popes in new diplomatic entanglements, Frederick's death was the turning point. With the execution in 1268 of Conradin, Frederick's grandson and the last of his line, the medieval imperial design lost its last champion.

The fall of the Hohenstaufen freed the papacy from

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a real danger, Innocent IV's stubborn persistence had saved the temporal independence of the Papal States. This was an achievement of incalculable importance, although the long war was not without its bitterness and the preaching of a crusade against Christians was immediately criticized. But the sensational relations with the Holy Roman Empire should not be allowed to obscure papal dealings with other states, for the popes of the thirteenth century developed further, albeit less successfully, Innocent III's conception of papal temporal preëminence. The details of this grandiose policy, the theories which supported it, and the conditions out of which it grew have been hinted at only briefly in the preceding pages. Perhaps enough has been said to indicate that such a policy was possible only in a feudal world which still cherished the idea of Christian unity. The development in the thirteenth century of monarchies demanding unrestricted control over their territories conflicted with the papal dream of a united Christendom. Even the Papal States of the later thirteenth century formed one of several Italian sovereignties. But the story of the church in the world of national monarchies and Italian city-states does not belong to this volume.

Finally it must be emphasized that papal temporal policies necessarily change with the centuries. Medieval opinion insisted upon the supernatural purpose of society and on the supreme moral responsibility of the Holy See for the salvation of mankind. Above all it viewed society as an organic unity in which the dis-

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tion between temporal and spiritual was not clearly drawn. As a more secular view of life came to prevail, papal political preëminence was increasingly challenged. The more enduring contribution of the lawyer popes lies in the field of ecclesiastical administration. Following in the footsteps of their saintly predecessors they fashioned an institution, the papal monarchy, through which the church has been governed ever since. It will be well now to consider the formation of the institutions of papal government and the functioning of this government in feudal Europe.

CHAPTER II

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PAPAL MONARCHY

THE CENTRALIZATION OF ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITY

THE restoration of the papacy's rightful authority which has been discussed in the preceding chapter resulted in the formation of institutions capable of making the primacy permanently effective. The establishment of these institutions, commonly designated the papal monarchy, is the medieval papacy's great and lasting achievement, and has endured with some addition and modification to our own day. There resulted further, and inevitably, a great outward change, represented by an increased personnel of clerks, and members of the papal entourage, more buildings, and vast numbers of visitors to Rome from all parts of Christendom.

Thus at first sight there seems a marked difference between the church of St. Clement I (d.99?) and the church of Innocent III (d.1216). In the first century of Christianity the human, visible organization of the church undoubtedly received less emphasis than its inner spiritual or sacramental life as the Mystical Body of Christ. The church was small, living at times a life almost submerged in the powerful Roman state. Its

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very existence seemed precarious. The church of the thirteenth century had expanded throughout Europe and sought openly to guide its policies. It had become, as its leaders said, a "perfect society" with its own government and its own law, the canon law, applicable to the manifold human contingencies of everyday ecclesiastical life.

In this government the clergy possessed a power of jurisdiction distinct from the sacramental power of order which they held as a result of ordination. This power of jurisdiction a bishop or priest wielded according to his office in the society of the church. Thus the pope had jurisdiction over all bishops, although in the sacrament of Holy Orders they were his equals. The power of jurisdiction implied the enforcement of the church's law in her courts, the bishops' courts and especially that of the Roman See. Theologians and canonists described this as the external forum (*forum externum*) as distinct from the internal forum (*forum internum*) or court of conscience, the sacramental tribunal of penance. The application of this power of jurisdiction necessitated the development of institutions capable of exercising it. But the tremendous growth of the human, visible structure of the medieval church and its apparent difference from the church of the first century should not be allowed to obscure the essential identity of the two. The church of Innocent III was fundamentally the church of St. Clement I, greater in size and wordly prestige, more efficient in

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operation, but no less the Mystical Body of Christ. Rome's supremacy existed from the beginning, a truth on which the whole subsequent earthly organization was based.

As the divinely instituted head of the ecclesiastical monarchy, the Vicar of Christ, to use Innocent III's phrase, the pope's power of jurisdiction over the church was in theory limitless. He possessed the fulness or plenitude of power (*plenitudo potestatis*). All the clergy were subject to him. There was no ecclesiastical court from which appeal might not be made. Moreover, his jurisdiction was also primary; that is, his court was a court of first instance as well as of appeal. He was legislator as well as judge and could make decrees and issue statutes, with authority limited only by natural or divine law.

The exercise of this absolute authority required that hierarchical centralization which St. Gregory VII had outlined in the *Dictatus*. Moreover, his experience had demonstrated that the control of the clergy was a two-fold problem. Prelates must be effectively subjected to the Holy See through the establishment of adequate organs of centralized government as well as emancipated from lay domination. In addition to lay investiture, which, as we have seen, Gregory resolutely opposed, there remained from the feudal period many traditions of local ecclesiastical independence which still stood in the way of centralization. Three of these agencies of local authority were particularly conspicu-

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ous in the middle of the eleventh century—the primate, the metropolitan, and the bishop.¹

The term, primate, originally used by all metropolitans without distinction, had come to signify only a bishop whose see was superior to all others, both metropolitan and diocesan, in a nation or greater part thereof. Various claims and reasons for the primatial dignity had been offered by such sees as Lyons, Rheims, Bourges, Mainz, Toledo, Canterbury and others. In the time of St. Gregory VII primates had real authority only in France. Originally useful in maintaining unity in a country especially during the period when the exercise of papal authority was difficult, primates were gradually brought into the Gregorian system of centralization. Eventually the authority of primates so diminished that the title signified little more than an honorary distinction.

Metropolitans were archbishops whose provinces were centered in a large city and divided into suffragan dioceses. During the anarchy many metropolitans had acquired considerable local authority which threatened the prerogatives of the Holy See. It was established by Gregory VII that all archbishops had to visit Rome to receive the *pallium*, the woolen scarf symbolic of their office, directly from the pope, at which time they took

¹ Of the major patriarchates only Rome itself and Constantinople (in schism after 1054) existed in Europe. Innocent III in 1215 recognized five major patriarchates, Rome, Constantinople (temporarily restored by the Fourth Crusade), Antioch and Jerusalem (both restored by the First Crusade), and Alexandria. The title was also used by certain Catholic bishops of Oriental rites.

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an oath of allegiance. Papal legates frequently replaced metropolitans in presiding over provincial synods. Other privileges were curtailed until the metropolitans like the primates were no longer an obstacle to hierarchical centralization.

Papal intervention in the affairs of all bishops increased in a number of ways. First, the widening recognition of Rome's primacy of jurisdiction resulted in more frequent appeals to the papal *curia* in cases of disputed elections. Indeed, appeals became so frequent that Gregory X (1271-76) was forced to limit them. From the middle of the thirteenth century, especially from the time of Innocent IV (1243-54), the practice of reserving to the papacy in certain cases the authority to introduce an incumbent, or to permit an election, further extended papal intervention. With the clarification of the theory of the plenitude of power there gradually developed the idea that all ecclesiastical benefices were at the disposal of the Apostolic See. The way was thus paved for direct papal provision² to ecclesiastical benefices. Direct papal provision without solicitation was not, however, a feature of the period before 1250. The disposal of episcopal benefices by the popes during this earlier period usually resulted from appeals in disputed cases. Gradually precedents were established for papal supervision not only over disputed elections, but also over all translations, depositions,

² Provision is a general term signifying regular induction into a benefice. Free appointment or collation, election, etc. are modes of provision.

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resignations, uncanonical elections, and the creation of new dioceses. Finally, by the end of the thirteenth century the power to confirm the appointment of all archbishops, and many bishops and abbots, had already been pretty well established. But "the initiative in bringing these cases before the pope—as in many other things which contributed directly to papal authority and political power—was taken by the parties concerned."³

Thus, during the period under consideration here, an important transformation was taking place in the manner of making a bishop. The part played by the pope was given an increasing prominence and the older practices were gradually superseded. Indeed, hardly had the Gregorians rescued episcopal elections from the lay power when the cathedral chapters began to find their rights curtailed by Rome. For a time this new system paralleled the old, but before the death of Innocent IV, election by the cathedral clergy had ceased to possess unquestioned actual significance.

Whatever the manner of their election, all the members of the hierarchy were subjected to constant supervision. It had been the practice of St. Leo IX, the first great pope of the reform period, to preside personally at councils held not only at Rome but throughout Europe. To preside in person over numerous and often distant councils, however important, was hardly practical. Such a practice was without doubt necessary during the emergency of the eleventh century and was

³ G. Barraclough, "The Making of a Bishop in the Middle Ages," *Catholic Historical Review*, XIX (1933-34), p. 296.

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never entirely abandoned. Supplementary to it, and employed increasingly during the later more stable period, was the system of papal legates whose activities in connection with the primates and metropolitans have already been mentioned.

Legates were those members of the clergy, usually cardinals, whom the pope by right of his primacy of jurisdiction sent as his representatives to the sovereign or to the hierarchy and faithful of a country. The use of legates dates from the early centuries of Christianity. Moreover, there came to be attached to certain important sees the right of permanent legateship. The bishops of such sees, of which Lyons, Toledo and Canterbury were examples, automatically became legates upon their election and were known as *legati nati*. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the *legati nati* were largely replaced by legates sent directly from the Holy See, either on a particular mission (*legati missi, nuncios*), or to represent the pope permanently in a given territory. The latter, or so-called permanent legates, differed from the *legati nati* in that their office was attached to the person, and not to the see, and expired at death. The incumbents of a few famous sees, however, were traditionally made legates upon their installation. Furthermore, a permanent legate was required to yield precedence to any legate sent directly by the pope into his territory. The most famous envoys especially designated by the Holy See were the *legati a latere*, practically always cardinals, selected from among the intimates, those "attached to the very side" of the pope.

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Romans, experienced in the government of the church, they proved effective agents of centralization.

The use of legates to enforce papal authority was never abandoned, but during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the papacy elaborated additional means of supervising the episcopate. Not only must archbishops come to Rome to receive the *pallium*, but all bishops were expected to make periodic visits (the period being in proportion to the distance from Rome) to the Holy See. These were called the *ad limina* visits, visits to the "threshold" of the Apostle, and were becoming general in the twelfth century. In fact, as an increasing number of bishops sought confirmation of their election at Rome, some even came in person to be consecrated, and took an oath of allegiance to the pope. By the end of the thirteenth century the papal right to confirm and even to dispense from the decisions of episcopal courts was no longer contested. Moreover, certain matters, such as excommunication *latae sententiae*, or automatic excommunication for certain previously specified offenses, the canonization of saints, the principal indulgences, and heresy, were for the most part removed from bishops' jurisdiction. The right of appeal to Rome was well established even before the end of the eleventh century.

Local episcopal jurisdiction was also diminished by papal provision to minor benefices. Papal provision implied the abrogation of the canonical rights of the ordinary collator, the bishop, or, in some cases, the chapter, or even a lay patron. The twelfth century popes had fre-

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quently recommended clerks for benefices. With the growth of appeals from clerks hoping for preferment, and under the theory of the fulness of papal power, this practice of recommending was transformed during the thirteenth century into a right of provision. In fact the pontificate of Innocent IV (1243-54) was the signal for some outspoken criticism especially from England and France with regard to the undesirability of some of the papal providees, non-vacant benefices, pluralism, non-residence, venality, and the like. It is important to notice that, at least in the thirteenth century, this criticism was practical rather than constitutional. That is to say, it complained of the abuse of power, not of the power itself. Many modern writers have echoed the earlier complaints and have seen papal provisions as part of a deliberate papal policy of subjecting the episcopate to centralized control and of seeking financial advantage. More recent investigations have made it clear that the entire system developed simply because it provided a new and more practical method of bestowing benefices and that "it was from the petitioners, impetrants, or providees, who sought to make use of the papal right of intervention, not from the papacy, that the initiative came."⁴

Despite the abuses about which contemporaries complained, there is reason to believe that in this age of schools and universities, many well-qualified clerks could more readily receive preferment through papal provision than through the ordinary methods. Since

⁴ G. Barraclough, *Papal Provisions* (Oxford, 1935), p. 153.

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the pressure of personal or political persuasion was in all probability less, objectivity in regard to the providee was more nearly assured, and the chances for the university-trained clerk thereby improved. This is not to say that the system was faultless, or that greater centralization of jurisdiction in papal hands did not result. As in the case of the bishops, the popes did not neglect their opportunity. Once papal provisions were firmly established in law, the temptation to exploit them for political and financial reasons was difficult to resist. But with the exception of Innocent IV's political manœuvres, there is little evidence of any such perversion of the system before the middle of the thirteenth century. Papal provisions developed because a new procedure was desirable and because the papal administrative organization best answered the needs of candidates for ecclesiastical preferment.

The regular clergy were traditionally loyal to the Holy See, and in many instances were exempt from episcopal jurisdiction and therefore directly subject to the pope. This was true of a few Benedictine and Augustinian communities, of all the Cluniac foundations, of the Carthusians, Dominicans, Franciscans, the religio-military orders of Templars and Hospitallers, and in the course of time the Cistercians and other orders. Thus a fairly widespread immunity of the regular clergy from all but papal jurisdiction further limited the authority of bishops.

Finally, a series of general councils held at the Lateran palace in Rome signalized the papacy's effec-

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tive supremacy over the universal church. The greatest of these, the Fourth Lateran Council held in 1215 under Innocent III and one of the most important in the history of the church, was attended by four hundred and twelve bishops, eight hundred abbots and priors, and lay delegates from kingdoms and city-states. Although some public discussion, particularly on political matters, was held, committees and conferences meeting under Innocent's direction before and between sessions accomplished the real work of the council. As a consequence it was possible to hold the third and final public session less than three weeks after the opening of the council. It was clearly an assembly which summed up the achievement of a century and a half, the restoration of papal supremacy.

THE *Curia*

Having seen how the papacy recovered the full exercise of its primacy by securing a maximum of supervision over the clergy both secular and regular, it now remains to examine the permanent machinery of centralization at Rome—the papal court or *curia*, as it is traditionally called. Originally a local institution, it developed with the restoration of effective papal supremacy into the governing body of the church as a whole. Similarly, its members, the cardinals, who originally were Roman ecclesiastics, became important functionaries in the administration of the universal church.

The term cardinal, from *cardo* or hinge, the equiva-

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lent also to "principal" or "first," had originally been applied to a priest permanently attached to any central church throughout Christendom and, in particular, to the "principal" priests in each of the twenty-eight odd parishes belonging to the church of the bishop of Rome. The oldest of the latter group, the archpriest, was the pope's chief assistant at all ecclesiastical functions and from the twelfth century was known as prior of the cardinal priests (*prior cardinalium presbyterorum*).

Similarly, the deacons of the different regions of Rome, originally charged with the care of the poor and the collection of the acts of martyrs and known as deacons of the Roman church (*diaconi ecclesiae Romanae*), came to be designated cardinal deacons (*diaconi cardinales*). In the twelfth century their number was permanently fixed at eighteen. Each had a church at Rome and was also a canon of the Lateran basilica. At their head was the archdeacon, the prior of the cardinal deacons (*prior diaconarum cardinalium*), who in his capacity as supervisor of ecclesiastical discipline in the city and curator of papal finances was, after the pope, the most important person in the Roman church during the early middle ages. It will be remembered that Gregory VII was once archdeacon of Rome.

Finally, as papal headship became better established and the volume of business increased, the principal neighboring bishops whom the popes more frequently called to synodal meetings came to be known as cardinal bishops (*episcopi cardinales*). First fixed at seven corresponding to the seven sees in the immediate vicin-

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ity of Rome, or *suburbicariae*—Ostia, Portus, Signia, Albanum, Mallianum, Tusculum, and Praeneste—the number was reduced to six early in the twelfth century.

Thus in the middle ages there might have been fifty-two or fifty-three cardinals composing the papal *curia*, although the actual number was rarely greater than thirty and sometimes smaller. According to the legal conceptions of the age, the body of cardinals was recognized as a corporation, commonly known as the “college of cardinals” and officially so established in 1179. The cardinal bishop of Ostia was dean and to some extent heir to the functions of the archpriest and archdeacon. A number of legal and honorary privileges and exemptions were conferred on the cardinals, and they were entitled to a share in the papal revenues. The term cardinal, therefore, originally used rather widely, was in the end reserved exclusively for a special group of Roman clergy intimately associated with the pope.

Cardinals were appointed only by the pope. Even during the period between the death of one pope and the election of his successor, the cardinals had no power to add to their number. Naturally the popes might, and many of them did, consult with the cardinals before making their choice. Popes could be subjected to a variety of human influences from within and without the *curia*. Moreover, there were certain customary procedures of promotion within the college. Never, however, was there any legal limitation of the pope's sole right, implicit in the theory of the plenitude of pontifical power, to create cardinals.

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First among the duties of the cardinals was the election of the pope. It was pointed out in the first chapter how urgent was the necessity for freeing the papacy from the control both of turbulent Roman nobles and ambitious Holy Roman Emperors. The decree of the Lateran Council of 1059 put into constitutional form the spirit of the Cluny reform, by vesting the right of election in the Roman cardinal bishops. Gradually the cardinal priests and deacons insisted on casting votes. Finally, Alexander III at the Third Lateran Council of 1179 legalized the voting power of cardinal priests and deacons and instituted the rule that the new candidate must receive two thirds of the votes. It remained for Gregory X in 1274 to decree that within ten days after the death of a pope the cardinals must meet in the place where he died and remain without communication with the outside world until a new pope should be elected. Since the cardinals were locked in a single apartment, this procedure was known as the conclave (*clavis*, key), and is still followed today.⁵

It will be remembered that toward the middle of the twelfth century the cardinals of the *curia* became almost the sole counsellors of the pope, a kind of permanent synod or senate. This assembly of the pope with the cardinals came to be known as the consistory, a word formerly used for the old council of the Roman

⁵ In 1922 it was provided that the conclave should take place not less than fifteen and not more than eighteen days after the pope's death in order to make it possible for cardinals from overseas to attend. The first conclave held under this new ruling was in 1939.

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emperors. Consistories might be public or secret. The former, to which outsiders both clerical and lay might be invited, were to celebrate some official occasion such as the canonization of a saint. The more frequent secret consistories dealt with all routine and special matters of government. During the pontificate of Innocent III they were held three times a week. Consistories have always remained a feature of papal government, although they were held less frequently when the separate curial departments developed.

Possessing absolute authority, the pope alone could convoke a consistory. Moreover, he was of course bound neither to summon it nor to follow its counsels. Depending upon the character of the pope and the matters to be discussed, consistories might, however, be an important factor in shaping papal policy. On a number of occasions during the middle ages, especially when the papacy was engaged in serious controversy with one or more secular rulers, efforts were made to transform the customary practice of papal consultation with cardinals into a constitutional obligation. Had these measures succeeded, it is obvious that papal power would have been limited in law as well as in practice. It is important, therefore, to notice that while such proposals were seriously made during certain crises, usually under pressure from some secular prince, they were not accepted, and the papacy emerged from the middle ages with the principle of the plenitude of power unimpaired.

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that dur-

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ing the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries the functions of cardinals underwent a significant transformation. Originally clergy of the Roman vicinity whose duties were primarily associated with the administration of local church affairs, they became, under the pope, the governing body of the universal church. Inevitably the greater task took precedence over the lesser, and the cardinals gradually became somewhat detached from the local ecclesiastical scene. In fact an increasing number of ecclesiastics from outside of Rome were nominated to the cardinalate. As early as 1130, for example, of the sixteen cardinals whose origins are known (there were twenty-four at the time), only three were Romans. The others included two Frenchmen, two Pisans, a Florentine, a Pole, etc. Thus the college of cardinals became more representative as the pope's universal authority became effective. Usually, however, there was a preponderance of Italians. Moreover, the familiar modern practice whereby a cardinal may reside permanently away from Rome, except when called to attend a conclave, had not yet developed. All cardinals, therefore, whatever their origin, had to participate actively in papal government. In fact, it is important to remember that officially the cardinals have never ceased to be members of the Roman clergy. Even today a cardinal who resides permanently abroad possesses a titular church at Rome as a symbol of his membership in the clergy of the city.

The prestige of the cardinals grew with the restoration of papal power and with their increasing partici-

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pation in papal government. When all cardinals, regardless of rank, acquired an equal voice both in electing and advising the pope, a kind of jurisdictional equality within the college resulted which tended to obscure the distinction between the three orders. In time cardinal priests and deacons outranked bishops elsewhere. The way was thus paved for the otherwise contradictory practice of nominating bishops as cardinal priests or deacons.⁶ It seems, notwithstanding, that during the period under consideration here, cardinal bishops, priests and deacons, although possessing equal powers in governmental functions, remained three distinct orders and so subscribed their names to papal documents. Only in a few exceptional cases was a bishop from a distant see ever made a cardinal priest before the fourteenth century.

THE DEPARTMENTS OF THE *Curia*

Much as contemporary secular governments found it advisable to divide their labors, certain branches or types of activity were delegated to special curial bureaus, each under the presidency of a cardinal. The culmination of this division of labor was the formation in the sixteenth century of the congregations and the distinction between congregations, tribunals and offices of

⁶ If, as occasionally happened, a cleric in minor orders was named to the cardinalate, it was understood that he would be ordained. But by the latter part of the thirteenth century it was apparently possible for such a nominee to take part in consistory even while awaiting ordination, although participation in the liturgical duties of his office was of course denied him.

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the *curia*. Only a few of the offices and tribunals which existed in the sixteenth century, or which function today, appeared as distinct departments in the middle ages, and of course none was organized as a congregation. Nor was the distinction between administrative bureau and tribunal or court always clear. Nevertheless, the method of functioning through separate departments was beginning; and it is possible to trace the formation of at least a few of these to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They may serve as examples of the traditional curial organization which has ever since been a feature of papal administration.

THE CHANCERY ⁷

The apostolic chancery is an administrative bureau of early origin, although the name did not come into general use until the eleventh century. It was the pope's secretarial office, whose chief function was the issuance, receipt and authentication of letters. Since a large share of papal business was conducted by letter, the chancery had to be efficiently managed. After 1144 the chancellor, who authorized documents, was regularly a cardinal priest or a cardinal deacon. In the early thirteenth century a further step was taken in the direction of efficiency when the office of chancellor lapsed and the

⁷ The apostolic *dataria*, which at one time apparently functioned as a kind of subdivision of the chancery, may have originated in the thirteenth century, but seems not to have been a distinct department until later. This section is based largely on R. L. Poole, *Lectures on the History of the Papal Chancery down to the Time of Innocent III* (Cambridge, 1915).

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vice-chancellor, chosen from outside the college of cardinals, not for rank but for competence, directed the work of the chancery. This practice continued until the fourteenth century when it again became the custom to appoint a cardinal as vice-chancellor.

The work of the chancery increased enormously during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The register of Innocent III, vastly larger than that of Gregory VII, contained at a moderate estimate some 4800 letters. And this includes not all letters written, but only those which for some reason were registered. They were of varied types, to which the general name bull (Latin *bullā*, seal) came to be applied in the late middle ages. These can be roughly classified under the terms privilege (great bull), designed for permanent record and therefore necessarily formal in appearance and style, and letter (little bull), many of them affairs of temporary importance and often written on small pieces of parchment with great economy of space.

The presentation of forged documents as evidence was not uncommon in the middle ages. Since claims to ecclesiastical lands and privileges, based on spurious charters, often reached the *curia*, it was necessary to develop a special technique for inspecting and verifying documents. Innocent III elaborated a set of rules for the detection of forgery. Measures were also devised to safeguard genuine papal documents by giving them a distinctive character difficult to counterfeit. After the eleventh century, papal documents were penned in a hand which followed the best Carolingian models. At

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the same time, special rules of balance and cadence produced a delicacy of style and a characteristic rhythm. This was the famous *cursus curiae Romane*. Although in time widely imitated, it distinguished papal letters, especially those of Innocent III, from all others.

THE APOSTOLIC *Camera* AND PAPAL FINANCES ⁸

The *camera* or central board of finance in the papal administrative system grew out of the increasing financial needs of the papacy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Contemporary kings found the income from their own estates insufficient for the needs of expanding governmental activities. Similarly the popes' needs outgrew the old dues from their patrimonies in central Italy, with the result that popes were occasionally forced to contract loans. The implications of the medieval papal financial system and the papacy's attempt to find new sources of revenue for its expanding activities are of the highest significance, not only for religious, but for political and economic history. No papal enterprise, unless it be the Inquisition, has aroused more adverse criticism. Yet revenues were absolutely necessary to the fulfillment of the church's mission, and the *camera* was an essential bureau of the *curia*.

From the middle of the twelfth century the office of papal chamberlain (*camerarius domini papae*) was entrusted to a regular member of the *curia*, invariably a

⁸ This section is based largely on W. E. Lunt, *Papal Finances in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1934), I, 3-136.

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bishop, with complete charge of financial matters, subject only to the pope. All details of financial administration, including the appointment of subordinates, were in his hands. Immediately under the chamberlain was the treasurer (*thesaurius*), also often a bishop, responsible for the receiving and safekeeping of funds and the rendering of accounts on the demand of the pope. A college of three or four clerks formed a cameral council under the presidency of the chamberlain and also constituted a permanent secretarial force which insured a consistent policy regardless of changes in the official personnel.

A further similarity to contemporary secular governmental development is the close association between judicial and financial administration. Through the incorporation of specially qualified judges and lawyers, the *camera* was equipped to handle all litigation concerning revenue or its collection. The clerical work was done by *scriptores* who with the messengers (*cursores*) and notaries completed the staff of the *camera*. Finally, though not actually members of the *curia*, there were numerous collectors appointed by and solely responsible to the pope or the chamberlain.

The varied sources of papal income may be conveniently classified as follows: revenue from the Papal States, *census* or tribute, income taxes and subsidies, benefice taxes, fees and miscellaneous receipts. The revenue from the Papal States, similar to that received by any medieval temporal ruler, consisted of the customary payments to the pope as feudal lord and a

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number of direct and indirect taxes or tolls on cities, castles and nobility.

The term *census* originally meant rents paid for the use of portions of the papal domain. By the close of the twelfth century its meaning had been extended to cover certain payments from various parts of Christendom which signified dependence on the Apostolic See. All these obligations were listed in a book known as the *Liber Censuum* which was compiled in 1192 by the chamberlain, Cencius, later to become Pope Honorius III. In addition to the domanial revenue, three types of income were recorded: payments made by exempt ecclesiastical bodies, tribute from temporal rulers, and Peter's pence.

As early as the ninth century, when the decaying Carolingian empire no longer afforded adequate protection, monasteries placed themselves under the protection of the Holy See, transferring, in theory, absolute ownership to the pope. In recognition of this theoretical transfer of property right, the monastery paid an annual sum which came to be included under the term *census*. Although originally exemption from the temporal and financial jurisdiction of the local bishop was alone sought, it developed that *census*-paying monasteries also obtained what was later regarded as of higher importance, namely, exemption from the bishop's ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Since the number of exemptions was not large and the sums demanded small and only irregularly paid, this species of *census* did not constitute an important source of revenue.

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A number of temporal rulers undertook a similar payment of tribute to the Holy See, usually in return for protection guaranteed by ecclesiastical censures. As in the case of exempt monasteries the ruler recognized the eminent domain of the pope over his lands of which he received back the usufruct. This practice, which became a prominent feature of papal policy with St. Gregory VII, produced more revenue than was received from exempt monasteries, although payments were never regular. Further, it also had great political importance as the previous chapter has indicated.

Peter's pence, although probably voluntary originally, was also included in the *Liber Censuum*, and its payment was regarded by some popes as a sign of dependence. It was collected in England, the Scandinavian kingdoms, Poland and some other territories. Traditionally every householder paid a penny. Actually, fixed amounts assessed to each diocese were collected by the bishops and archdeacons who kept any surplus. The amount collected seems normally to have been in excess of that delivered to the pope, and was comparatively insignificant.

The establishment of income taxes, a development of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, grew out of the problem of financing the crusades. The first example was Innocent III's levy in 1199 of one fortieth of all clerical incomes. During the thirteenth century crusading taxes became more frequent. Eventually income taxes were levied for other purposes, including even so vague a designation as "the burdens and necessities of

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the Roman church." Papal income taxes were confined to ecclesiastics, after early attempts to compel laymen to pay had failed. They were imposed sometimes universally, sometimes locally for varying periods of years. Normally a tenth was demanded. The amount, at first estimated by the individual payee, was later customarily assessed by appointees of the cameral collectors. Once a valuation was officially established, it often served as a basis of future income and other taxes. Since failure to pay meant severe ecclesiastical penalties, grumblings and delays rarely resulted in actual refusal. The papal collector could, however, invoke secular aid or cite a debtor to appear before the *camera*.

The income taxes were more productive of revenue than any of the earlier taxes. On the other hand, with the development of a strong central monarchy in such states as England and France toward the end of the thirteenth century, these taxes were often stoutly resisted with the support of the secular power. Usually popes found it expedient to share the proceeds with ambitious rulers who not infrequently secured the larger share; and occasionally a pope was persuaded to levy an income tax payable to the royal treasury.

Subsidies were occasional levies on the clergy or even kings for special needs and were at first voluntary. During the thirteenth century much of the voluntary character was lost. They constituted for several popes in the later part of the century a substantial income.

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The number of payments received by the pope under the classification of benefice taxes varied with the actual number of benefices which at any given time were immediately dependent on the Holy See. We have seen that by the end of the thirteenth century the right to confirm or appoint all archbishops and many bishops and abbots had already been established. Some of the benefice taxes were, therefore, levied during the first half of the century, although it was in the fourteenth century that this type of papal taxation became significant. Among the benefice taxes probably collected in the earlier period were two charges falling upon prelates: the services (*servitia*), payable directly to the *camera* on the occasion of appointment or confirmation, and the visitation tax, paid on the occasion of the *ad limina* visit. Others, of which the annates were the most famous, were not of great significance before the fourteenth century.

Fees charged for the issuance of bulls, letters of absolution, fines, etc., together with occasional large gifts and legacies, constituted the remaining sources of income. Indulgences were a significant factor in papal revenue only considerably later than the period under discussion here, although the *camera* had begun to appropriate some financial returns from indulgences toward the middle of the thirteenth century. It is also worth noting that the papacy avoided an important expenditure by requiring local clergy to pay the expenses of legates.

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THE COLLECTION OF REVENUE

The task of collecting the taxes levied by the papacy throughout Christendom was entrusted to special collectors who, as has been stated, were immediately responsible to the pope or to the chamberlain. Provided with papal letters of introduction to local prelates and full powers of excommunication, suspension and interdict, a papal collector proceeded to his appointed district. The actual work of collection was done by sub-collectors whom he appointed and closely supervised. The collector's temporarily independent position was limited by the requirement that he render strict accounting at regular intervals on pain of excommunication or even of arrest. For the most part the papal collectors did their tasks faithfully, although in the later thirteenth century their work was often impeded by powerful rulers with whom, as we have seen, the pope occasionally had to share receipts.

In transferring the receipts to Rome various methods were employed. At first, funds were brought by special messengers or by the collectors themselves. Occasionally they were deposited for safekeeping in monasteries. Inevitably the papacy in the thirteenth century employed methods which had been developed by merchants: deposit with banking firms. In the early thirteenth century the Templars had been used. Later the Italian bankers were ordinarily employed, the firms in question being designated *mercatores camerae* and

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profiting immensely both directly and indirectly through their association with the Holy See. Soon most of the familiar banking devices developed: bills of exchange, interest, money changing, loans on taxes to be collected, etc.

Papal taxation has been regarded by many as excessively burdensome and unnecessarily complicated. Moreover, there is the added, somewhat popular sentiment that a religious institution should not be tainted with financial affairs. Nor was contemporary criticism lacking. Taxation is never popular, and local clergy as reluctant taxpayers were not infrequently supported in their resistance by secular rulers. There is little doubt that the financial exactions of the papacy, however necessary, were a factor in the development during the later middle ages of national-minded clergy. Notwithstanding, it must be emphasized that the papacy as a human system of government was faced during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with a steady rise in prices, resulting from the European commercial revival and a continually expanding sphere of activity. The crusades, which in the thirteenth century the papacy undertook to finance, and the long struggle with the Hohenstaufens are only two of the more pressing concerns. Moreover, these, it must be remembered, were added to the care of all the churches, itself a far greater task in 1250 than in 1100. Failure to have systematized its finances would have jeopardized the entire spiritual endeavor of the medieval

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papacy. Not without reason has the achievement of the *camera* been styled "one of the earliest and best of the medieval financial systems."⁹

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CURIAL TRIBUNALS

Many questions which came before the *curia* were of a judicial nature. Generally speaking, ecclesiastical courts in the middle ages claimed jurisdiction not only over all members of the clergy, among whom students were technically included, but over all cases involving religion in any way, such as church property, the sacraments, wills, marriage, oaths, blasphemy, usury, etc. As a consequence canon law then included many matters which today would be regarded as purely civil. Since the papal *curia* was then universally recognized as an ecclesiastical court of final appeal, as well as of first instance, it can easily be seen that a tremendous number of causes, some of great importance, many of relatively minor concern, were pleaded before it. In addition, there were the civil suits in the papal states. Moreover, during the twelfth century the Holy See reserved to itself the power of absolving from certain crimes. Obviously so many cases could not be regularly handled in full consistory. Nevertheless, this was the common practice until nearly the end of the twelfth century. It then became customary for the

⁹ W. E. Lunt, "The Financial System of the Medieval Papacy in the Light of Recent Literature," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XXIII (1908-9), 251.

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pope to appoint for each case either a cardinal or a cardinal's chaplain or possibly a bishop to arrange for the suit, hear the evidence (hence the term *auditor*) and report to the pope who would give a decision either personally or in consistory. Occasionally the auditor was empowered to decide, subject of course to the pope's confirmation. Toward the latter half of the thirteenth century the auditors were recognized as a distinct group and entrusted with an increasing number of cases. Since not all litigants were able to bring their suits to Rome, the popes developed in the twelfth century the system of judge-delegates. Judge-delegates were local ecclesiastics, usually bishops, who were appointed papal judges for specific cases in their own country. Normally with the letter of appointment came instructions as to the procedure and the legal principles applicable to the case.

Eventually there developed separate curial tribunals having competence over certain types of cases. It is not certain whether any of the famous tribunals of later times, such as the *rota*, *signatura*, the penitentiary, etc., existed distinctly in the thirteenth century, although some scholars trace their origin to that period. The medieval inquisition certainly became a papal tribunal, or rather system of courts, in the early thirteenth century, but it functioned outside of Rome. Therefore, although the Roman Inquisition, which in the sixteenth century was reorganized as the Congregation of the Holy Office, is usually held to have been an adaptation of the thirteenth century papal inquisi-

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tion, the latter cannot, strictly speaking, be designated a curial tribunal. In general, it can be said that only the beginnings of the great curial tribunals existed in the early thirteenth century.

THE LAW OF THE PAPAL MONARCHY

The organization of the papal *curia* as an institution of government was accompanied by a corresponding development of the law by which it operated: the canon law. The principal sources of the canon law were threefold: Holy Scripture, tradition, and the legislation (decretals) of popes and councils. It seemed obvious to the reforming popes that their reassertion of papal primacy must be based on the solid foundation of a law which expressed the ancient traditions of the church. Gregory VII, for example, insisted that he was introducing no new principle into church government, that he was simply restoring the custom of the Fathers. As a consequence, and partly at his suggestion, collections of canons or decrees were drawn up which proved to be the forerunners of the more systematized and scientific "codes" of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Unfortunately, in the absence of critical historical judgment, a number of spurious decretals found their way into these earlier collections. The most famous "False Decretals," sometimes known as the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, from the name assumed by the author, was a strange amalgam of valid and spurious citations having its origin in the ninth century. The

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immediate object of the compiler seems to have been to limit the jurisdiction of local metropolitans by exalting the prerogatives of the Holy See. Naturally this collection proved immensely useful to the popes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and was widely used. At about the same time appeared another famous forgery, the so-called Donation of Constantine, which alleged that the emperor had bestowed upon the pope imperial power over the west, together with a spiritual authority over all other churches. The Donation of Constantine is most often associated with the temporal authority of the medieval papacy. Since neither the False Decretals nor the Donation were known to be spurious before the fifteenth century, they were referred to quite innocently by many popes.

The question however remains: to what extent was the exaltation of papal authority by canon law based upon spurious precedent? An enormous controversial literature has resulted from this question in which for many years Catholic and non-Catholic scholars were sharply divided. In general it is now recognized that "it cannot be argued that the Forged Decretals enunciated an entirely new doctrine. At most they gave a legal form to conclusions which could be drawn from a collation of the actual utterances of Popes during the four preceding centuries."¹⁰ In other words, the False Decretals did not introduce the idea of papal supremacy, and the assertion of it in theory and in

¹⁰ A. H. Thompson in *Cambridge Medieval History*, VI (New York and Cambridge, 1929), 639.

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practice need not have been based on fabricated material. The uncritical mind of the eleventh century, uninformed by accurate historical scholarship, was as ignorant of the existence of valid precedent, such as the decretals of fourth and fifth century popes and the canons of earlier councils, as it was unconscious of the spurious character of the material which it used. In an age when written documents were so highly regarded as evidence of legal claims, the False Decretals, used in all good faith and containing no fundamentally new principles, proved enormously useful to Gregory VII and the other eleventh and twelfth century popes and undoubtedly helped to justify the hierarchical centralization they sought to establish.

By the middle of the twelfth century the progress of legal science in both civil and canon law had prepared the way for the first really scientific code, the *Decretum* of Gratian. Gratian was a monk and professor at Bologna, center of a notable revival of legal studies. First known as the *Concordantia discordantium canonum* (Concord of discordant canons), a title which aptly describes the nature of the work, the *Decretum* appeared probably between 1139 and 1141. Gratian's work was not merely a compilation or collection, but a treatise on the canon law. Moreover, its historical importance is attested by the fact that all canon law in force previously was designated the "old law" (*ius antiquum*) as opposed to the "new law" (*ius novum*) which the *Decretum* first introduced. Five further compilations added in the course of the next seventy-five

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years were in turn superseded by Gregory IX's publication, in 1234, of papal decretals issued since Gratian. This compilation "was in reality a continuation of Gratian's *Decretum* which now became in law what it had always been in fact—an official Code of Canon Law."¹¹ Later popes made further additions to what came to be known as the *Corpus juris canonici* (Code of canon law).

The papal rôle in this development is of the highest significance. In drawing generously from the decrees of popes, as well as from the Fathers and the earlier councils, Gratian followed the current tendency to acknowledge Rome as the source of ecclesiastical law. Therefore, the importance of canon law to the papal revival and to the organization of the papal monarchy cannot be exaggerated. Formed in the period of restoration, often under the direction of the popes themselves, the canon law was the scientific expression of the papal power of universal jurisdiction. A rule of procedure for all the manifold contingencies of ecclesiastical government, and even for many important civil matters, it made the accepted fact of papal primacy a daily reality which touched the lives of millions.

Such was the organization of the papal monarchy in the middle of the thirteenth century. Already it exhibited in outline the form it still maintains. Yet this remarkable institutional growth involved no new prin-

¹¹ H. D. Hazeltine in *Cambridge Medieval History*, V (New York and Cambridge, 1929), 714.

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ciple of government. Papal supremacy was of primitive origin, as much a fact of apostolic Christianity as the foundation for ecclesiastical organization in the thirteenth or in the twentieth century. From this basic truth, with its implication of a universal jurisdiction, a great institution was developed in the course of time. The eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries constituted the formative stage in this process because until then European conditions had prevented the effective exercise of papal supremacy over any extended period.

The papal *curia*, the principal organ of the papal monarchy, has never been without its critics. In the twelfth century St. Bernard, fearing for the spiritual welfare of his protégé, Eugenius III, complained of the excessive number of appeals to Rome. Some attempts were made to limit appeals. Innocent III, for example, at the Fourth Lateran Council, decreed that the reason for appeal to a higher court must be considered valid by the judge of the first instance, although there must be no question of the papal right to try the "greater causes." But this same pope also held that the Holy See should be the resort of any cleric seriously needing advice, and insisted on giving consultation to individuals. So great was Innocent III's reputation as a jurist and so well developed was ecclesiastical centralization that requests for advice, some of them absurdly trivial, came from every corner of Christendom. None went unanswered. There seems little doubt, to quote a modern Catholic historian, that the enormous increase in ecclesiastical business made

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of many a pope "a great judge who ought to be an apostle and a saint."¹²

Contemporaries were outspoken in their complaints of delay and venality at the *curia*. Indeed, the existence of an elaborate system of gifts and bribes is only too well known. Yet the presence of what the modern American conscience designates as "corruption" was by no means the result of a peculiarly wicked line of popes or a particularly venal set of cardinals. The root of the difficulty lay in the fact that the organization of the *curia* failed to keep pace with the vastly increasing volume of business. Irregularities in procedure, the want of established fees, inevitably created a situation where irregular payments became the rule. For example, it was not until early in the fourteenth century that the introduction of fixed taxes put the chancery on a self-sustaining basis. Many classes of officials received no established income. The standard of living which cardinals were expected to maintain was all out of proportion to the revenue from their titular churches. Several popes were aware of the situation and attempted reforms. The most noteworthy proposal was that of Honorius III (1216-1227) who, as we have seen, was once chamberlain and therefore an expert. He suggested that certain benefices be reserved from each church, the revenues of which were to provide regular salaries for curial officials. Although there is some doubt as to the extent of the proposed reform, it

¹² A. Dufourcq, *L'Avenir du Christianisme*, VI (*Le Christianisme et l'Organisation Féodale*, 1049-1294, Paris, 1932), 327.

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seems that Honorius intended that the entire clergy should at least contribute to the support of the central administration. This statesmanlike proposal failed of adoption because of the resistance of the local clergy who, although they might complain of curial venality, were unwilling to underwrite this scheme for removing it. It is evident, therefore, that the unfortunate continuance of venality was by no means entirely the fault of the *curia* itself. Moreover, the increasing resort to the *curia* instead of to the local courts is sufficient indication that curial justice was still preferred. "Criticize it as we may, and as most contemporaries did, for its delays and venality, in the Roman Curia men moved in a different world to that of the State: a world where subtle distinctions were heard, and delicately shaded opinions expressed, the spiritual home of educated and intelligent humanity."¹³

¹³ E. J. Jacob, in *Cambridge Medieval History*, VI, 36.

CHAPTER III

THE PAPACY IN ACTION

THE OBJECTIVES OF PAPAL POLICY

THE preceding chapter has described the development of the papacy as an institution of government. We may now examine this government in action. In doing so it is necessary to avoid regarding the papal monarchy as a merely human institution, a remarkable organization whose development affected and was influenced by other human institutions, a government which sought to defend itself, to expand, and to enter into relations with other governments. Such a view of the papacy—and it is all too frequently presented—affords, not necessarily a false, but an incomplete picture of ecclesiastical government. It portrays only one phase of medieval Christianity, and omits or lightly passes over the fundamental *raison d'être* of the Christian church.

The purpose of the church is the same in all ages, the salvation of mankind. Salvation is essentially spiritual, supernatural, of the next world. But since man exists on earth and is composed of soul and body, matter and spirit, material things, too, must be considered. Therefore, Christian civilization denotes the permeation of all human activities and institutions,

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political and economic as well as religious, with Christian principles. This is the goal of the Christian religion: not alone to provide places of worship, but to be the ultimate mainspring of every human act, thus bringing each human soul daily nearer to Christ. These things were axiomatic to medieval Catholics. Although the ideal was frequently far from realization, no other ideal was conceivable.

Many people today, accustomed to secular habits of thoughts, find such conceptions are foreign. As a consequence modern historians have commonly emphasized the political and institutional aspects of papal history without adequately considering the religious policies which alone justified them. Relations between popes and great temporal princes have been given a precedence which in fact they never had. For however much some popes may seem to have failed in their trust, there is no doubt that the history of the medieval papacy is the story of an attempt to establish a Christian civilization in all its fulness. This included an insistence that all temporal concerns be regulated according to the dictates of Christian morality. Hence there arose a "temporal" policy subordinated to the religious, but undoubtedly regarded by the popes themselves as a part of their religious duty. Evidently, therefore, the sharp distinction between political and religious, so dear to modern thought, did not exist. It will be recalled that papal "temporal" policies were briefly summarized in an earlier chapter. Thus, only those matters which today would be designated "religious," and which to the

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medieval popes unquestionably were of primary importance, will be considered here.

To tell this story adequately would be equivalent to writing the history of the medieval church, a task obviously beyond the scope of this study. But certain lines of activity which the papacy directed can be emphasized. There will also be frequent reference to the great Lateran councils because it was at these assemblies, held under papal auspices in Rome, that many policies were crystallized and given definite form as the law of the church. Moreover, although no sharp division into periods is possible, it is convenient to recall that the century from 1049 to the death of Eugenius III in 1153 was characterized by the work of restoration led by popes most of whom were monks, while the subsequent one hundred years to the death of Innocent IV was signalized by the organizing and consolidating activities of the great lawyer popes. Restoration by monastic zeal and holiness, consolidation by canon law: these two types of action best characterize two centuries of papal history. For convenience, the principal papal activities have been grouped under the following headings: the preservation of the faith, the spread of the faith, the liturgy, ecclesiastical discipline, the defense of Christendom and the Byzantine schism.

THE PRESERVATION OF THE FAITH

It has always been the teaching of the church that the supremely important task of preserving the faith from error was committed in a special manner by

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Christ to St. Peter and his successors. Popes have always exercised this special prerogative whenever any question of faith demanded final dogmatic decision. It has been, therefore, a power always possessed, but exercised only when occasion demanded. Moreover, the assertion of dogmatic truth need not always be made by the pope in person. The confirmation or even the tacit acceptance of declarations made elsewhere may sometimes suffice. Except in the schismatic churches of the east there was not the slightest question of papal infallibility in this respect in medieval Christendom. As a consequence, although many assertions of papal supremacy can be found, it was more commonly taken for granted. For example, few assemblies more clearly reflected papal headship in the church than the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Yet the important profession of faith which preceded its canons contained no reference to the Holy See. It was understood that Innocent III was supreme. In this, as in most doctrinal matters, definition usually follows question. Thus the anarchical conditions of the eleventh century required frequent assertions of papal supremacy which would have been superfluous in the thirteenth century.

Therefore, in the matter of dogma, the action of the medieval papacy well illustrates the traditional practice of the church. The original deposit of faith from the Founder of the church is complete. Nothing may be added or taken away. But this deposit was not immediately understood in its entirety. The mind of the church constantly meditating under divine guidance on

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these eternal truths has only very gradually grasped their full implication. Moreover, the mind of man has repeatedly raised obstacles in the form of error. Questions have thus arisen on the most vital points of doctrine. What are the faithful to believe? What was the original teaching of Christ? This it is the solemn duty of the church and in particular of the Roman pontiff, under divine guidance, to declare. Since questions of faith have always arisen and doubtless always will, the process of clarification and definition, if intermittent, is never-ending. It is, however, especially characteristic of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when theological studies at the University of Paris and elsewhere were advancing so rapidly. Among the many doctrinal matters under discussion, the sacraments, especially the Eucharist, most frequently occasioned papal definition; and numerous examples of papal pronouncements could be cited, particularly during the pontificates of Alexander III (1159-1181) and Innocent III (1198-1216). But Innocent's work is most naturally associated with the Fourth Lateran Council over which he presided and which in so many ways sums up medieval Catholic action.

The decrees of this great council were prefaced by a detailed profession of faith directed at the principal heresy of the day, Catharism, and followed by a condemnation of other less dangerous deviations from orthodoxy. Of the various canons, perhaps the most important summed up the church's teaching on the sacrament of the Eucharist, emphasizing its sacrificial

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character, and defining the doctrine of transubstantiation. Confession was enjoined upon all persons at least once a year, usually at Easter, as a prerequisite to the reception of Holy Communion. Failure to comply with this regulation resulted in suspension from entering church or, in the case of one dead, denial of Christian burial. Thus under Innocent III the church at once safeguarded the sacrament of the Eucharist and claimed its jurisdiction over and its responsibility for the spiritual life of every individual Christian.

In addition to the promulgation and definition of doctrine, the papacy was constantly called upon to condemn erroneous writings or to prohibit the reading of books suspected of heresy. As the recovery of Aristotle's complete works stimulated philosophical studies, especially at the University of Paris, various errors appeared not so much from the original works of the Stagirite, as from his Arabian commentators. In 1215 the papal legate, Robert de Courçon, forbade the reading of Aristotle's physical and metaphysical works. But in 1231 Gregory IX declared this to be provisional, and thereafter in spite of renewed prohibitions the celebrated Dominican scholars, St. Albert and St. Thomas, received papal protection in building a great system of philosophy and theology based on Aristotle. Notwithstanding, contemporary papal influence remained in general unsympathetic to Christian Aristotelianism. Its triumph was much later.

For the most part such matters concerned only theologians and scholars, and were often of only passing

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importance. Local authorities frequently dealt with them and in the cases where papal action was necessary, the decision of legates might suffice. Moreover, in many questions which arose at the schools and universities a certain latitude of opinion was permitted. The final authority of Rome in accepting or condemning questionable theses was invariably recognized.

It would be a great mistake to judge the papacy's interest in learning merely by its negative condemnations. Always interested in true scholarship, the popes patronized the schools and nascent universities of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As early as 1179 the Third Lateran Council required the authorities of cathedral schools to grant teaching licenses to any properly qualified teacher. Successive papal bulls early in the thirteenth century guided the formation of the University of Paris. The thirteenth century was the age of the universities, and examples of papal encouragement and intervention elsewhere might be cited, but Paris, famous as a school of theology, naturally received most attention from the Holy See.

THE POPES AND HERESY

The most serious danger to the faith was the growth of heresy. The earlier movements of the twelfth century such as the Waldensians and the Humiliati, in origin more anti-clerical than heretical, never called forth any exceptional counter-measures other than local episcopal action or papal condemnation. It remained for the more formidable Catharism of the Al-

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bigenians to cause an emergency which necessitated more drastic action. Catharism was a heresy of ancient Manichean origin and, because of its insistence on the essential evil of all material things, was subversive of both temporal and spiritual authority. In general, contemporary rulers and public opinion urged its suppression. It has been recognized as a menace to society even by modern historians who disapprove the methods taken to suppress it. Catharism existed in the Balkans and in Italy. During the latter part of the twelfth century it also acquired a considerable vogue in southern France, where the counts of Toulouse, unlike most secular princes, persistently thwarted all efforts to suppress it. Repeated condemnations by councils proved of no avail, and in 1178 Alexander III's legates were driven from Toulouse. By the end of the century the whole area was affected, and a scandalous laxity prevailed in all orders of the clergy, many of whom secretly sympathized with the sect. This emergency, far greater than any thus far faced by the medieval papacy, Innocent III resolved to meet with all the resources at his command. It was one of the first matters to which this young and able pope directed his attention.

Innocent's efforts cannot be described in detail here. Owing in no small degree to the hostility of several princes, notably Count Raymond VI of Toulouse, the disciplinary measures of the Cistercians and the apostolic zeal of men like Bishop Diego of Osma and St. Dominic fell far short of complete success. When

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Count Raymond refused to cooperate in expelling heretics, Peter de Castelnau, the papal legate, excommunicated him and laid his lands under an interdict. In the following year Peter was murdered by one of the count's men. The subsequent events of the famous Albigensian Crusade are too well known to need repetition here. In this exceptionally sanguinary war the original religious purpose was rapidly overwhelmed in the conflict of contemporary political forces over which Innocent had little control. Few of the pope's policies have brought him more severe criticism. Yet it must be remembered that before Innocent organized the crusade and granted to all who participated the customary crusaders' indulgences, he had exhausted more peaceful methods and encountered the open opposition of lay authority on which the church customarily relied for assistance. Moreover, the pope did attempt to keep the crusade to its original purpose and he finally obtained for Raymond a portion of his lands. Not until long after Innocent's death did the war end. In 1229 Raymond VII submitted, promising to restore church property and actively to proceed against the heretics.

Meanwhile, it had become clear that neither preaching nor the crusade was entirely successful in combating this singularly persistent and subversive heresy. Therefore the Holy See reorganized a number of previously existing institutions and elaborated new legal measures which in the course of time became a system of courts under exclusively papal jurisdiction, com-

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monly known as the medieval inquisition. A canon of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 included and summarized all the previous decrees of both lay and ecclesiastical authorities with regard to heresy. Civil princes were compelled under pain of ecclesiastical censure to punish heretics. Their detection was the duty of all bishops who were to follow carefully prescribed methods for periodical visitation, taking the testimony of witnesses and examination of the accused. Since episcopal courts proved unable to cope with Catharism, Gregory IX (1227-41) instituted an official papal inquisitor. The inquisition thus became a papal tribunal with exclusive jurisdiction over heresy. At first itinerant, the inquisition was later established in certain districts. An elaborate code of procedure rapidly developed which later popes approved and corrected, much of it taken over from contemporary civil jurisprudence and strongly influenced by Roman law. Torture, included in the Emperor Frederick II's civil code for Sicily, was prescribed by Innocent IV, though its use was carefully regulated. From the time of Gregory IX the death penalty, to be carried out by the civil authority, was generally decreed as the "due punishment" for extreme cases.

Of first importance was the need for trained and capable inquisitors. From the beginning Gregory IX appointed Dominican and Franciscan friars whose organization and experience peculiarly fitted them for the task. The procedure of inquisitors was carefully

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watched. Gregory IX imprisoned for life an inquisitor who exercised undue severity to his prisoners.

This is not the place to describe in full the history of the medieval papal inquisition or to dwell on its merits or demerits. The papacy was driven to extreme measures by an emergency, the gravity of which modern historians have fully realized. Indeed, papal action followed that of the secular authorities and the local clergy and conformed to popular opinion. The methods were not invented by the popes, but were widely used in current civil procedure. Acting in its supreme capacity as guardian of the faith the papacy bolstered up local episcopal efforts by instituting a new centralized papal system of courts which proved eminently successful in eradicating Catharism.¹ It would be hard to find a more striking illustration of the effective supremacy of the medieval papacy.

THE SPREAD OF THE FAITH ²

In addition to preserving the faith from error, the papacy constantly interested itself in movements to carry the Gospel to heathen lands. An important example of the spread of medieval Christianity is the

¹ Strictly speaking, episcopal action against heresy was not abolished, but in practice the new papal inquisitors tended to replace the bishops in the prosecution of heresy.

² Until recently, thirteenth century missions have not received sufficient attention in works printed in English. See now K. S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, II (New York, 1934).

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eastward expansion of the Germans. Actually beginning as early as the eighth and ninth centuries this significant movement continued by a combination of conquest and colonization to push the frontier of the Germanic peoples eastward at the expense of the Slavic peoples. The church's interest lay primarily in organizing its hierarchy in the new lands and in furthering missionary work among the Slavs. Occasionally it sanctified the war of expansion by giving it the status of a crusade, and in one or two instances the papacy officially sanctioned the work of a crusading order. The Knights of the Sword, for example, were authorized by Innocent III and did remarkable work in conquering and Christianizing the natives of the Baltic region especially in Courland, Livonia and Estonia. In 1230 the papacy permitted the Teutonic Knights, an order originally founded for service in the Holy Land, to operate in the northeast with the spiritual assistance of the Dominicans. Within the next half century they completed the reduction of Prussia and, by absorbing the Knights of the Sword, extended their control along the Baltic beyond Prussia north to the Gulf of Finland.³

Serious problems arose out of the confusion between the religious and the political aspects of this eastward movement. The predominantly German character of the expansion frequently aroused Slavic resentment.

³ During the middle ages Prussia was the name of a territory roughly corresponding to modern East Prussia and including a portion of the former Polish corridor.

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Moreover, conversion by conquest was not always permanent and many converts experienced the hostility of their fellow countrymen who remained pagan. Innocent III and Honorius III both attempted to resolve such difficulties and to keep the expansion under papal direction in so far as its religious aspects were concerned. Converts were taken under special papal protection. Christian princes were warned against oppression. Honorius also sought funds for the training of native Prussian missionaries and for the rescue of young girls from infanticide.

Early in the thirteenth century there began a movement to conquer Islam not by the sword but by the Gospel, a movement destined to outlast the crusades out of which it grew and to enlist the active support of such famous men as Raymond Lull and Raymond of Penaforte. The earliest famous missionary to the Muslims was St. Francis of Assisi who preached before the sultan of Egypt in 1219. The journeyings of this great saint, though without tangible success, are a striking example of missionary zeal. Pope Honorius III was a patron of missions to the Muslims and in 1221 arranged for archbishops to recruit missionaries. Most of the thirteenth century missionaries, however, came from the new orders of Franciscans and Dominicans. Both labored in the Levant and in 1225 Honorius sent them to Morocco. Nor did they stop with the Muslim territories held by crusaders. The Dominicans worked with the Cumans of the Russian steppes and in 1229 Gregory IX placed their converts under his

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protection. Innocent IV launched an enterprising missionary venture to pagan lands by sending Dominicans and Franciscans to the Mongols of central Asia and China. It was hoped that the Mongols who overran eastern Europe in the middle of the thirteenth century might as Christians prove valuable allies against the Muslims. Thus, although the thirteenth century popes continued to utilize the traditional crusading methods both in the Baltic region and in the Levant, they also patronized the beginnings of a movement which signaled the church's return to its earlier peaceful means of expansion.

THE LITURGY

In all ages the church has striven to maintain a uniformly high level of dignity and order in its public prayer, that is, its liturgy. In the service of the liturgy, especially of the Mass, have gone the highest talents of artists, poets and musicians. The function of the papacy in this as in other matters was one of regulation and supervision.⁴ From about the fourth century there existed in the west two liturgical usages or rites, the Gallican and the Roman. Both were ancient. The former, probably of eastern origin, had spread through the west presumably from Milan. The latter, the Roman, developed from apostolic times in

⁴ The Holy See also found it necessary to prevent abuses in popular devotion by reserving to itself in 1163 the right to canonize saints, and in 1215 the exclusive power to authenticate relics.

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the papal province of Rome and Italy. Gradually as papal primacy was increasingly felt, the Roman rite became the norm and before the eleventh century had replaced the Gallican usage throughout the west in all but a few places. Gregory VII, for example, insisted that the Spanish church, one of the last to fall in line, follow the *Ordo Romanus*. In the course of this process of general adoption, the Roman rite was itself influenced by the Gallican observance it superseded. The Gallican additions, however, were all in the nature of ceremonial and ritualistic adornment.

After the eleventh century only a few exceptions remained to the universal observance in the west of the Roman rite. In Toledo the Mozarabic rite, so named from its use by the Mozarabs, or Christians living under Muslim domination, and presumably derived from the Gallican, has persisted to modern times. Milan preserved its local observance which though greatly modified by the Roman rite had originally been instituted by St. Ambrose in the fourth century. Other local usages which persisted were not really independent developments, but merely modifications of the parent Roman rite. In the Crusaders' states, ancient local rites also persisted. The Maronites of the Lebanon mountains, when they returned to the Roman obedience in 1182, were permitted to continue their worship in Syriac. Moreover, Greek monastic communities in communion with Rome continued in southern Italy and Sicily. In general, however, the standard

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for the west was the official Roman usage and its adoption a further testimony of an increasingly active papal supremacy.

The daily office, that is, the prayers, psalms and hymns read or chanted by priests and monks at appointed hours during the day, was a concern of Gregory VII. It is possible that the abridged form, known as the Breviary, was first instituted by him. Certainly Innocent III had a portable Breviary edited for the clergy to carry while travelling. Moreover, possibly sometime after the middle of the twelfth century, the Book of Hours, a kind of Breviary for the laity, first appeared.

ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE

The constant and never-ending concern of papal government was, and still is, the preservation of order and discipline, the supervision of the manifold human and official relations between all members of the clergy and between the clergy and the laity. This continuous task, sometimes referred to as "the care of all the churches," provided the ordinarily unspectacular but highly important routine of daily administration. A glance at the registers of any of the medieval popes immediately reveals this. The overwhelming mass of papal letters dealt, not with emperors and kings nor even with great ecclesiastical problems of the day, but with the minor controversies of bishops, priests and monks, quarrels over benefices, tithes, immunities and the like. Nevertheless, by this careful attention to

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detail the papacy had in less than two centuries supervised, directed, and encouraged a remarkable restoration of Christian life.

It will be recalled how the monastic popes, Leo IX, Gregory VII, Urban II, Eugenius III and others, ably assisted by Cluniacs and Cistercians, revived respect for the Roman primacy, attacked simony and lay investiture, and restored to the clergy the ancient discipline of celibacy. After the middle of the twelfth century, papal action takes on a somewhat different aspect. Efforts to restore and maintain discipline remain unabated, but now exhibit that genius for legal consolidation characteristic of the great lawyer popes. Nowhere is this better illustrated than by the pontificates of Alexander III (1159-1181) and Innocent III (1198-1216). There is a striking similarity about the careers of these two great popes. Both were outstanding canonists. Each was forced to waste valuable talent and energy on the purely negative task of defending the church against imperial encroachments. Happily both found peace at the end of their lives and the opportunity to devote themselves wholly to revivifying Christian life. In each case a great general council was the climax of a distinguished pontificate. These two assemblies, the Third and Fourth Lateran councils (1179, 1215), would well repay study as brilliant examples of medieval Catholic action. Space does not permit the consideration of both councils here. Therefore, while occasionally referring to the work of Alexander III, we will consider briefly the achieve-

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ment of his illustrious successor, mentioning here only the principal provisions relating to discipline.

If the Gregorian reform had been primarily directed toward the episcopate, Innocent was especially interested in the parish priest. This was particularly necessary since, as it will be recalled, the council greatly added to the responsibilities of the priesthood by requiring of every layman annual confession and communion. An upright and educated clergy, adequately trained in penitential discipline, was an obvious necessity.

It is evident also that discipline is a perennial problem and that a century after St. Gregory VII, Innocent still had to struggle to make the clergy measure up to its high office. It was necessary, for example, to prohibit such abuses as all-night carousing and frequenting taverns, hunting and hawking, etc. Clerics living in sin were to be suspended or deposed. Civil, medical and military employment were all forbidden.

A series of canons regulated all manner of clerical appointments and the method of electing bishops and abbots. New prohibitions were enacted against long vacancies and plurality of benefices. In each province, bishops were to meet annually to correct abuses and receive the reports of officially appointed investigators. Similar canons regulated certain aspects of monastic life. Those enjoining periodical general meetings of the abbots and priors of each province and prohibiting the foundation of new orders were particularly important.

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The Fourth Lateran Council also supplemented former decrees providing for the better education of clerics. In addition the council required each metropolitan church to install a *theologus*, or master of theology, charged with the duty of teaching the priests of the province. Bishops were reminded of their duty to preach.

For the laity the most important injunction was the famous requirement of annual confession and communion. The council also forbade clandestine marriages, set forth the requirements for publishing the banns, and insisted on the presence of a priest. Moreover, the prohibited degrees of relationship were reduced from five to four. There were also prohibitions against the alienation of church property, farming out benefices, and taxing the clergy without the consent of the pope. Tithes were not to be evaded and took precedence over all other taxes.

The provisions just described represent the papacy's desire for order and discipline in matters primarily religious. Beyond lay the sphere of social morality for which the medieval papacy did not hesitate to legislate. In its solicitude for the creation of a thoroughly Christian social order it took cognizance of matters which today would not ordinarily be regarded as falling within the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This intimate association of the temporal with the spiritual which has proved so confusing to modern students has been very briefly alluded to in a preceding chapter. But since each of the four great Lateran coun-

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cils acknowledged social as well as religious problems as within its competence, some of their decrees may appropriately be discussed here.

The Third Lateran Council, for example, enacted or repeated drastic canons designed to protect the weak and defenseless against the ravages of feudal warfare. The Truce of God, that ordinance which prohibited under pain of excommunication fighting on certain days or during certain seasons, was again proclaimed. Excommunication also awaited those who molested pilgrims or the producers of food, and anyone who pillaged the shipwrecked. Bands of brigands, the forerunners of the "free companies" who ravaged the countryside, plundered churches and monasteries and "spared neither widows and orphans, nor children and old men," were likewise placed under the ban of the church and an indulgence was offered to those who took up arms to suppress these marauders. Bishops were admonished not to hesitate to apply ecclesiastical sanctions against important or powerful offenders. Even tournaments, the favorite sport of the nobility, were condemned and those killed in them denied ecclesiastical burial. Lepers, the most helpless of all, were to receive the sacraments and if necessary to have a special priest.

Business ethics were also considered by the Third Lateran Council. Usury was again condemned, and it was further enacted that tolls were not to be increased or imposed except by proper authority. Christians who helped Saracens, particularly those who sup-

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plied shipbuilding material, or who entered the service of Jews were censured.

In thus taking cognizance of the Jews, the papacy attacked a unique problem. Many Jewish communities existed within the territorial boundaries of Christendom. Yet they obviously could not be a part of Christian society or subject to its ordinary laws. What, therefore, was the status of Jews in a frankly Christian social order? A number of papal and conciliar decrees, especially of the Third and Fourth Lateran Councils, answered this question by drastically restricting the activities of Jews in order to protect Christian faith and social morality.⁵ They were, for example, forbidden to hold public office and were required to wear a distinctive badge. During Passiontide they were to remain indoors lest there be any mockery of Christian observances. Synagogues were not to be erected too close to the local church or in too elegant a style. In these and other decrees, severe as they seem to the modern mind, the church was following logically the principles of a thoroughly Christian social order in which the free intercourse between Jew and Christian was unthinkable. It is important, however, to notice that in addition to limiting Jewish enterprise, the popes on a number of occasions championed the human rights of Jews against outbreaks of anti-Semitic violence such as accompanied both the First and Second crusades. A constitution for Jews (*constitutio pro Judeis*), is-

⁵ These can be found in English translation in S. Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century* (Philadelphia, 1933).

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sued by Calixtus II (1119-24) and repeated several times by subsequent popes, insisted that while Jews should receive no new privileges, they must be protected against attacks on their lives, forced baptism, interference with their religious worship, etc. No doubt these and similar decrees had some effect and on more than one occasion Jews looked to the pope for protection. The confidence which Jews reposed in Alexander III, for example, is attested by Benjamin of Tudela, a noted Jewish traveller of the twelfth century, who mentioned the favorable position of the Jews living in Rome, of whom a few were employed in the papal service. Unfortunately, papal admonitions were not well heeded by European rulers who, for the most part, only protected Jews when it was to their interest to do so. Intolerance increased in the later middle ages. Even the saintly Louis IX of France allowed Jews to remain in his kingdom only because his financial advisors urged it.

In the enormous task of maintaining a high level of discipline among the clergy and of furthering Christian ideals of living the popes of the early thirteenth century found the two new orders of friars, the Franciscans and Dominicans, extraordinarily useful. The lives of St. Francis (d.1226) and St. Dominic (d.1221) and the exploits of their followers are too well known to need repetition here. We have already mentioned the zeal of the Dominicans in preaching against the Albigensians. Similarly, the sincerity with which the early Franciscans embraced poverty that

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they might better follow Christ and serve Christ's poor did much to restore the shaken confidence of countless thousands and to shame worldly and neglectful priests. For the popes the friars were a potential army of devoted followers, the living embodiment of that Christianity which the conciliar decrees sought to establish. Hence both orders were given papal authorization. In each case Innocent III verbally approved what Honorius III finally and officially sanctioned.

THE DEFENSE OF CHRISTENDOM AND THE BYZANTINE SCHISM

Thus far this chapter has described papal efforts to preserve the faith from error and to purify and enrich every phase of Christian life, in short, to establish a Christian society in western Europe. There remain to be considered two tasks which necessitated papal activity outside the boundaries of Europe. These were the defense of Christendom against its principal external enemy, Islam, and the attempt to restore Byzantine Christianity to union with Rome.

Students sometimes wonder at the importance medieval Europeans attached to the crusades against Islam. It is popular nowadays to belittle them as a futile waste of time or to regard them as an interesting early experiment in "colonization." Modern Europe is not menaced by Islam and as a consequence it is easily forgotten that from the Moorish invasion of Spain and Gaul in the early eighth century to the siege of Vienna in 1683, one or more of Europe's

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frontiers was subject to Muslim attack. It would not be correct to describe the crusades solely as wars of self-defense. But that defense was a primary concern, especially in the view of the Holy See, is beyond question. Fortunately, Islam was never united after the first great century of expansion, and much of European success can be attributed to Muslim disunion. Nevertheless, during most of the middle ages there were three principal areas of contact and conflict: Spain, Sicily and southern Italy, and the Levant. By the end of the thirteenth century the central Mediterranean region was secure, considerable progress had been made in Spain, but in the Levant, where initial success had been followed by serious reverses, Christendom was retreating.

All the popes were keenly aware of the danger to Christendom inherent in the position of Islam and in the successive Muslim revivals in the Levant and Spain during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This is apparent even before the traditional First Crusade. Possibly Sergius IV, certainly Gregory VII, considered the feasibility of military expeditions which circumstances prevented their carrying out. Moreover, by the end of the eleventh century, as the papacy began to co-ordinate and direct local anti-Islamic efforts, there is evident a remarkably comprehensive grasp of the Islamic problem as a whole. This was not because of a naïve belief that an attack on Islam in Spain would weaken Muslim power in the Levant, but because Christendom, in the papal view, was a unit. Urban II,

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for example, concerned as he was with the success of the First Crusade, refused to permit the archbishop of Toledo to embark for the Holy Land, and pointed out his duty in Spain. The same indulgences were offered to the warriors in both places. Innocent III labored as hard to organize the Spanish crusade as to launch an expedition to the Orient.

The central Mediterranean region was the first to be completely restored to European control. By the eleventh century, Italians, especially Pisans, Genoese and Venetians, no longer content to submit to a Muslim monopoly of Mediterranean commerce, began to fight back. Finally, local initiative received papal assistance. An expedition of Pisans, with papal sanction and support, crossed the Mediterranean in 1087 and successfully occupied Mahdiah in Tunis. A solemn religious celebration and a trade treaty attested the dual victory and the characteristic mixture of politics and religion. Meanwhile, Norman adventurers from northern France occupied southern Italy and their leaders became papal vassals. Their subsequent conquest of Sicily was completed in 1091 and received pontifical sanction. The Italian and Norman conquests freed Italy and Sicily from any further danger at the hands of Islam.

In the Iberian peninsula Christian forces profited by Muslim disunion and were reinforced by a steady stream of adventurers from France, shortly after the eighth century invasion. Here, as in Italy, local initiative received papal direction. In fact, it was the

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repeated papal efforts which produced sufficient co-ordination between the mutually antagonistic Spanish kingdoms to ensure success. We have seen that Urban II did not forget Spain, despite his interest in the recovery of the Holy Land. Pascal II, his successor, preached a crusade against the Moorish pirates in the Balearic Islands. Other popes encouraged the establishment in Spain of the Templars and similar religious-military orders. Innocent III, however, obtained the maximum in collective effort. A Muslim revival had routed the Castilians in 1195. Innocent organized a new crusade and obtained recruits from France and Italy. The great victory of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, the result of these efforts, struck a mortal blow at Muslim power in Spain, although it lingered in the south until 1492.

Without doubt the theater of Europe's greatest anti-Islamic efforts was the Levant, the "cradle" of Christianity. Here were the scenes of Christ's passion, the Holy Sepulchre and the sacred places associated with His life on earth, for centuries the goal of pilgrims from every walk of life. It was inevitable that an age of religious revival should refuse to tolerate the continued occupation of the Holy Land by the infidel. In the last quarter of the eleventh century the Seljuk Turks replaced the more tolerant Arabs as masters of the Holy Places. Pilgrimage became more hazardous. Moreover, the Turkish conquest of Asia Minor placed the infidel at the very gates of Europe. Furthermore,

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in the Levant an added consideration was presented by the presence of Byzantine Christianity, for Rome persistently refused to accept the schism of 1054 as final, and kept the problem of reunion in the forefront of its policy.

The church of Constantinople had once dominated the entire Christian Levant from Egypt to the Balkans. Within this area had appeared in early times numerous heretical or schismatic groups, Nestorians, Jacobites, Maronites and others. Unwilling to accept the primacy, political or religious, of Byzantium, many had welcomed the conquering Mohammedans as liberators. Thus by the eleventh century Levantine Christianity was hopelessly divided. Most of the Balkans and Greece were loyal to Constantinople. But the former Byzantine lands south of the Straits contained a cosmopolitan mixture of Christian groups living under Mohammedan rulers.

Papal policy toward the Levant, therefore, was concerned with at least three problems: the Muslim danger, the Byzantine church, and the numerous smaller groups. As a consequence the desire to restore eastern Christendom to its primitive unity under Rome was inevitably associated with the defense of Christendom against Islam. Gregory VII had both problems in mind. Ten years before the First Crusade, Urban II attempted to open negotiations with Constantinople with a view to ending the schism. It is a matter of dispute whether his crusading project included the plan

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to win reunion in return for military assistance, but it is certain that to the end of his life the religious aspect of the eastern question never ceased to occupy his attention. Moreover, Urban also realized that the Eastern Empire was a bulwark against militant Islam. To assist the Eastern Emperor was to protect eastern Europe. The Turkish invasion of eastern Europe after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 proved the correctness of this view.

This is not the place to tell again the familiar story of the crusades. Here we must confine ourselves to a broad analysis of papal policy as a whole. Two things must be emphasized: first, the relation between the military-political policy in the Levant and the religious problem of reunion; and second, the secularization of the crusades. By the last term is meant the triumph of political and economic interests over the original religious objectives, as a result of which leadership passed from the popes to secular princes.

The success of the First Crusade of 1096 was striking. It brought such renewed prestige to the reformed papacy in the midst of the struggle over investitures that some have seen in the crusade a deliberate attempt during the investiture struggle to secure the leadership of militant Christendom. That this was the result none can deny, but that ulterior motives can be imputed to Urban II is not the considered verdict of history. "His disinterestedness had its reward in the position the Papacy secured in consequence of the success of his appeal, but this reward was not in Urban's mind in

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issuing the appeal.”⁶ For two centuries Latin Christian “colonies” were maintained on the Levantine mainland. While the new kingdom of Jerusalem was never a papal fief in the technical sense of the word, Rome’s solicitude was unceasing. Reinforcements were sent at papal instigation. The great religio-military orders, the Hospitallers and the Templars, were chartered by the Holy See with special privileges and immunities. It should be noted, however, that the former were not permitted to let military activities interfere with their original charitable purpose. Territorial expansion had important religious significance as well. A Latin hierarchy and Latin monastic orders were established, over which the popes jealously maintained their supremacy. The submission of some of the dissident native Christians was also obtained. In 1182 the Maronites of the Lebanon returned to the Roman obedience. Relations between the crusaders and the Armenian Christians were exceptionally close. Several prominent intermarriages took place and in 1148 the patriarch of Armenia, spiritual overlord of a large number of Armenians, visited Rome and offered full submission to the pope. The king of Little Armenia also recognized Innocent III as universal bishop.

The attempts to restore the church of Constantinople to union with Rome were less successful, largely because political considerations invariably complicated the religious discussions. From the time the crusaders first set foot in Constantinople it was apparent that their

⁶ Z. N. Brooke in *Cambridge Medieval History*, V, 95.

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plan to capture and keep Jerusalem and the surrounding lands conflicted with the desire of the Byzantine emperor to recover some of those lands for himself. Other misunderstandings were aggravated by the mutual distrust of Greeks and western Europeans. Further, the chances for ecclesiastical reunion were diminished as the diplomacy of all the states having an interest in the Mediterranean hopelessly obscured the religious issue. Adequately to untangle the threads of Mediterranean diplomacy is out of the question here. It is sufficient to indicate that the ambitions of Sicily, the Holy Roman Empire, the Byzantine Empire, and even of France made impossible any consideration of the problem of reunion on its own merits.

But if efforts to reunite the churches were hampered by political considerations, the later crusades show an even clearer subordination of religious concerns to the political and economic. This secularization of the crusades, evident in some measure from the beginning, increased so markedly in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that the later expeditions scarcely seem appropriate material for a chapter on the religious activities of the papacy. Lay leadership replaced ecclesiastical. The so-called Fourth Crusade, for example, originally destined for the Holy Land, proceeded under Venetian auspices and in the face of the censures of the most powerful of medieval popes, Innocent III, to capture Zara from Christian Hungary and finally Constantinople itself (1202-4). Perhaps the high point in secularization was reached when in 1228

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the Emperor Frederick II sailed for the Holy Land despite papal excommunication, won a temporary success by diplomacy without striking a blow, and crowned himself king of Jerusalem while the local clergy held aloof.

Clearly the old religious fervor had gone. Notwithstanding, the popes continued to regard the crusades as a religious duty and in the thirteenth century, despite repeated failures, undertook to finance them. In 1291 the last Christian outpost on the Levantine mainland was taken. No pope was ever able to rally again the forces of a united Christendom. After two hundred years reunion of the churches was still far from realization, and in western Asia the star of Islam was again in the ascendant.

To what extent the collapse of the crusading movement must be attributed to the papacy is difficult to estimate with any accuracy. Repeated failure in the Holy Land deeply impressed Christendom. And while popes continued their attempt to launch new expeditions, public opinion as expressed in contemporary troubadour literature was not slow to place the blame for the loss of the Holy Land squarely on the popes, and to accuse them of diverting crusading energies to the defense of their position in Europe.⁷ Nor can all this type of criticism be dismissed as inspired by par-

⁷ In the thirteenth century the same spiritual rewards and indulgences could be obtained by assisting the pope in his struggles against heretics in Europe and against the pope's enemies in Italy, the Hohenstaufen.

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ticular political prejudices. Some of it was undoubtedly sincere. And many modern writers, particularly those unsympathetic to papal policies in Italy, have echoed the earlier strictures. Although this criticism fails to appreciate the realities of the papal predicament in Italy, there is no doubt some justice in it. Manifestly it proved impossible to maintain crusades in Europe and in the Levant. One was sacrificed to the other. Nevertheless, no such simple explanation of the Christian failure in the east is adequate. Doubtless many of the popes had their share in the mistakes made. But it should be evident from the preceding paragraphs that the actual conduct of the crusades early passed from papal hands, a fact which places a large share of the responsibility on the shoulders of secular princes. Furthermore, the second half of the thirteenth century was a period when the spiritual forces which reached a climax early in the century seemed submerged in worldly concerns of a novel character. For it was a new age, an age of national states, of expansionist diplomacy, of trade, of money and nascent capitalism, an age ill suited to the ideal of Urban II. What followed was the first grappling with new problems, the first readjustments to modern society of which the collapse of the crusade is only one indication.

But the misfortunes of a new age need not tarnish the glory of past achievement. From papal efforts to Christianize every aspect of feudal society there resulted in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries a

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civilization whose ideals were based on the principles of the Christian religion. This civilization did not perfectly live up to its ideal. There were failures, as the breakdown of the crusade and the constant repetition of old prohibitions in the canons of councils so clearly show. Yet medieval society knew no other ideal. It sought no false gods to justify its shortcomings. The flowering of popular religious fervor manifested in a greater piety, especially in an increased devotion to Jesus and to His Blessed Mother, in the forming of religious confraternities devoted to the sick and to lepers, in religious art and architecture, in the "coming of the friars," and in a hundred other ways, has perhaps never been surpassed.

Therefore, in spite of those failures which historians from that day to this, both within and without the church have not hesitated to point out, it seems not incorrect to close this chapter on a note of triumph. European civilization in the early thirteenth century with all its faults represents a remarkably close approach to the ideal of a society informed by Catholic Christian principles. To have led Europe from the anarchy of the ninth and tenth centuries to the Christian culture of the thirteenth is no small achievement. That a new and different struggle was about to begin which seemed at first fraught with failures is no reflection on what had been accomplished. The church had struggled for many centuries to Christianize a feudal society. Under papal guidance it had defended and spread the faith, sponsored true Christian learning,

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enriched the liturgy, continuously fought ecclesiastical corruption and laxity—in short, it had championed that natural order in human affairs so necessary to the spiritual life. If any one moment can be said to mark the climax of that struggle it is the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. It is true that subsequent decades failed to fulfill the promise of that great assembly. Few prelates shared the enthusiasm or grasped the œcumenical vision of the pope who convoked it. Thus, no such sweeping reform followed the age of Innocent III as had characterized the times of St. Gregory VII. Yet the provisions of the Fourth Lateran Council, representing the design of one of the church's greatest administrators, have become part of the permanent law of the church and have constantly been referred to since. Veritable European congress that it was, which considered every problem discussed here and many more, it sealed the triumph of the papacy in the church and of a monarchical church over the feudal world.

CONCLUSION

The preceding pages have been primarily concerned with the significance of the medieval papacy for its own time. In conclusion it may be well to attempt an estimate of its achievements in the light of what has passed since, and to emphasize those developments of the medieval period which are permanently significant in papal history. If we look upon the church today, it is immediately evident that foremost among the lasting accomplishments of the medieval centuries must be reckoned the organization of the papal monarchy and the clarification of the law by which it operated. Later centuries, notably the sixteenth, made important additions and introduced many modifications. The eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries contributed the foundations, not the perfected instrument. But the bases of a centralized organization were laid down in that formative period. The principle and to a great extent the practice of effective papal supervision of the whole clergy was established.

Similarly the functioning of papal government, the "care of all the churches," has changed only to meet new conditions. Canons of councils and papal decrees and encyclicals of later ages continue to satisfy the ever recurring human need for the definition of dogma,

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the regulation of discipline, and the clarification of the principles of social morality. These are perennial problems which simply appear in new forms. And if the age of crusades has passed—although the popes long continued their efforts to arouse Europe against the infidel—the work of missionaries sponsored by the popes still continues. Only the geography of the church's expansion has changed.

In the performance of their manifold duties, many popes undoubtedly sacrificed something of that personal holiness which the world has come to expect of the holders of their high office. Perhaps the world has been too harsh in its judgment of men who were inevitably overwhelmed not only by serious diplomatic problems, but by the mere daily routine of ecclesiastical government. Yet many have been sincerely troubled at the worldliness which resulted from an excessive concern with diplomacy and have felt that the political successes of an Innocent III compare ill with the pure religious zeal of a Gregory VII. This attitude is as old as the papal monarchy. It is echoed in the eloquent words of St. Bernard's *De Consideratione*, written to guide Eugenius III. It is implicit in the lives of countless saints for whom the church always remained the Mystical Body of Christ despite the frailties of its earthly members. If it is the verdict of history that some of the popes personally fell short of that perfection which they sought to teach the world, it should be remembered that the church in her own way has ratified the verdict. To those pontiffs, Alexander III, Innocent III, Inno-

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cent IV and others who lived to triumph over their enemies the church is eternally grateful. But Gregory VII who died in exile, an apparent failure, she venerates as a saint.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

It would be impossible to include within the limits of this volume an exhaustive bibliography on the medieval papacy. The following brief selected list of titles in English may, however, serve as a guide to further reading.

Few books available in English treat the medieval papacy comprehensively. H. K. Mann, *The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages*, 15 vols. in 16 (London and St. Louis, 1906-29), is the only work of its kind. As the title indicates, it is a series of biographies rather than a study of the papacy. It contains a great deal of useful information. The medieval section of F. X. Seppelt and C. Loeffler, *A Short History of the Popes*, adapted from the German by H. A. Frommelt (St. Louis and London, 1932), is a brief narrative based largely on Mann. F. Mourret, *The Papacy* [Catholic Library of Religious Knowledge, XIX] (London and St. Louis, 1931), is an excellent brief, topical study of the papacy from its origins to modern times by a prominent French scholar. W. Barry, *The Papal Monarchy from St. Gregory the Great to Boniface VIII (590-1303)* [Story of Nations] (London, 1902), is a narrative account now somewhat dated but still useful. D. Attwater, *A Dictionary of the Popes* (London, 1939), is a recent work. Several excellent chapters on papal history can be found in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, especially volumes V (*Contest of Empire and Papacy*) and VI (*Victory of the Papacy*) (New York and Cambridge, 1929). P. Hughes, *A History of the Church* (New York, 1934-5) is a good brief general church history. Two good short volumes in the *Berkshire Studies in European History* are: S. Baldwin, *The Organization of Medieval Christianity*

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ABSTRACT FOR STUDY AND REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

The historical period covered in this book (1048-1254) witnessed the restoration of effective papal supremacy, the development of the institutions of papal government, and an unusually wide extension of papal influence over the affairs of Europe. In the first half of the period most of the popes were monks and reformers. In the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries many pontiffs were expert canonists and hence have been called lawyer popes.

Chapter I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The chaotic political, social and economic conditions of early medieval feudalism seriously hindered the church's work by causing widespread decentralization of ecclesiastical authority. This in turn was followed by a breakdown of discipline. Ecclesiastical independence was threatened by secular princes.

A reform inaugurated by the monastic order of Cluny spread to the entire church and was finally carried forward under papal leadership. St. Gregory VII (1073-85) stands out in the late eleventh century; and St. Bernard (1090-1153), though not himself a pope, was a powerful influence in the early twelfth.

The century following the death of St. Bernard was distinguished by a succession of popes who were exponents of canon law. Among the most prominent were Alexander III (1159-81), Innocent III (1198-1216), Gregory IX (1227-41) and Innocent IV (1243-54). In addition to their activities in the field of ecclesiastical government, these popes exercised a considerable influence in the temporal affairs of Europe.

Abstract For Study And Review

Chapter II. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PAPAL MON- ARCHY

The restoration of effective papal supremacy was accompanied by the development of governmental institutions which emphasized the pope's supreme power of jurisdiction over the entire clergy. The papal court or *curia*, as a result of increased activity, began to form separate departments such as the chancery and the camera. There was a parallel development of ecclesiastical or canon law.

Chapter III. THE PAPACY IN ACTION

The objectives of the medieval papal government included, in addition to the salvation of souls, the permeation of all human institutions, political and economic as well as religious, with Christian principles. Hence popes were concerned with preserving the faith from error and spreading it to non-Christian lands. They took strenuous measures against heresy and attempted to safeguard ecclesiastical discipline and social morality. A crusade policy was directed against advancing Islam. Most of the routine activity, however, was concerned with the "care of all the churches," i.e., the daily problems of ecclesiastical administration throughout the world. Efficiency in handling this routine business helped enormously in building up the ecclesiastical organization.

Many achievements of the medieval papacy, especially the development of governmental institutions, are of permanent importance in ecclesiastical history.